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SINCE WATERLOO

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SINCE WATERLOO

A SHORT HISTORY OF EUROPE AND OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

1815–1919

BY

ROBERT JONES

D.Sc. (Econ.)

Let History Teach Tolerance

LONDON

CONSTABLE AND COMPANY Ltd.

1920

PREFATORY NOTES

THIS book has been written for younger people, but if it interests them it will also interest many adults. The writer has tried to give

(*a*) A general view of the ideas and actions of the peoples of Europe during the last century: this for reading; and

(*b*) A supply of facts and dates, placed out of the way as much as possible: these for reference.

No part of the book is intended for "learning up."

Plan.—The history may be read in the order in which it is written, or the story of each country may be followed separately. For this see the "Table of Contents, II. By Countries," p. ix.

Dates.—The date is a fruit of the desert, and although there are many dates in this book, they are mostly in the margin; in which desert they should be left until need of them brings ripening.

References backward and forward (in time) are marked by dates in brackets.

Subjects.—Social and economic changes are dealt with more fully than is usual in histories of this kind; not separately, but in connection with political events.

Maps.—The maps contain only what is needed for understanding the text. A general Atlas of Europe should also be used.

Diagrams.—The diagrams are intended to explain themselves, and to suggest the idea of making other diagrams, from the facts and events given in the book. A diagram is useful when it brings out clearly, to be seen at a glance, facts that in words form a rather confused mass; or when it shows a real connection between things usually kept apart; or when it sets out what is already known in a more striking way. But also, a diagram may be misleading. It may show sharp divisions where there are really rather gradual changes; or it may give the wrong idea that whatever is left out of the diagram is of no importance. Wherever time or size is important a diagram should be drawn to scale.

The Frontispiece (Diagram I.) has a short story of its own. A boy of $14\frac{1}{2}$ years, who for about eight months had been taking in class the history of Europe since 1815, was set this task: "You stand now in 1918. Look back to 1815 along the history of each European country, mark out the great changes, note which of them are common to most countries, and map the results in a diagram of some kind. Use lines, curves, shading, colour, or what method you please." His drawing, corrected, and changed from 1918 to 1920, forms the Frontispiece.

ROBERT JONES.

April 1919.

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PART I

INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

A BACKWARD GLANCE

Three Generations.

THE story of the last century is the story of our own families, carried back scarcely farther than to our grandsires. For if we allow of the century since Waterloo thirty or thirty-five years to a generation, we cover it in three generations. There are old people now living, whose fathers left their toys one day to listen to the excited "grown-ups" talking about Waterloo and Napoleon. The father of a man of eighty years in 1915 might have fought, as a youth of twenty, in the battle of Waterloo. So near is it to us. But the great changes of the century have made it seem very far. Sometimes we measure by years, but in our thoughts we measure oftenest by a vision of things happening between.

There come times in the lives of men and of nations that mark a great change. It is like the change that a traveller sometimes finds, when he crosses a range of mountains and comes to different land, among different people. Such a time, such a change, came after 1789; in 1814–15; in 1914–15.

On Politics.

It is not easy, perhaps it is not possible, to follow the story of Europe since Waterloo without taking some notice of politics. But if we get interested in the people, an interest in their politics comes of itself. We all say at times that politics is a dull and wretched business. Yet we all catch fire at the story of Garibaldi's fight for a new Italy, which was a question of politics, after all. Sometimes we side with one party or with the other. Sometimes it is more interesting to stand a little way off, watching

both sides and listening to the battle-cries. They shout for the King, for Parliament, for the Church, for Free Trade, for Tariff Reform, for Liberty, for War, for Peace. The more we get to know the men of all the parties, the more we listen to their warm arguments, the harder we find it to believe that any one side is altogether black, or that any one side is altogether white. In the old fairy tales, the prince was always good and handsome and noble, and his enemies were never in the right. But in the history of men, though there are noble deeds and evil deeds, noble men and evil men, we do not find it easy to label a whole nation, or any large group, either good or bad. The really remarkable thing about them is that they are very like ourselves.

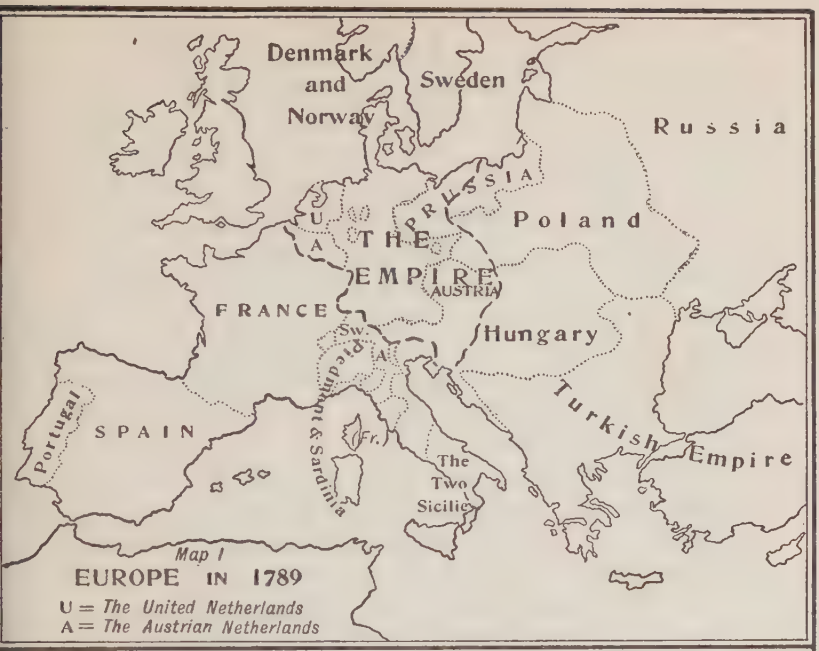
1789 to 1814.

We can nowhere begin to follow the thread of history, to understand it, without pausing first to examine the twisted strands that make it, and to give a glance back to see whence they came. That glance must be as far back as the French Revolution of 1789. For the fibres that make the life thread of Europe, as we take it up in 1815, run straight from that great movement. It was not merely a French movement but a change in all Europe, in the civilised world. To begin with then, let us glance at the map of Europe in 1789. West of Switzerland, it looks familiar enough. The British Isles, Spain, Portugal, stand as they do to-day. In France there have been changes of the eastern boundary, though the general shape has not altered much. But the whole of Central Europe stands out as an extraordinary tangle, and one that would be more puzzling still if we could put in all the many German states, large and small. We get the idea of a movement towards a few great states, a swallowing up of small territories, during the nineteenth century. This is not altogether what has happened, but in Central Europe there has certainly been a rubbing-out of frontier lines.

Changes in the Map.

The Empire.

The old kingdom of Poland catches the eye at once. Had we gone back another century, we should have found a larger Poland still. There is no kingdom of Italy. There is no German Empire, there is " The Empire " in Europe,



Map I

EUROPE IN 1789

U = *The United Netherlands*
A = *The Austrian Netherlands*

Map II

EUROPE IN 1814

French Empire.....
French Dependencies.....

a small collection of an amazing number of states, large and small, with the Emperor at Vienna for its head. It represents the Holy Roman Empire of the Catholic (Roman) Faith, as against the Greek Church of the East. The Empire has been for centuries the supporter of Christian Rome. Its enemies said that it was hardly an Empire at all, not in the least Roman, and anything but holy. It took in what we know now as Belgium, stretching from there to the Adriatic, and north again as far as the Baltic. It governed a great part of Italy, and until about the time of the French Revolution its ruler had controlled Hungary also. At a later time Hungary was again included.

Not an Empire; nor Roman; nor Holy.

French Conquests.

This was the Europe through which the French armies marched, mad with the new wine of freedom, tumbling down thrones and kings like a whirlwind—"barking," as Tennyson puts it, "for the thrones of kings." In those wild and wonderful twenty-seven years, Napoleon and his armies made a new map of Europe. In 1814 you could draw a line from the Adriatic to the Baltic, and say, "west of that, except for Portugal and Switzerland, Europe is the French Empire."

Napoleon's Europe.

Ideas and Feelings.

The few frontier lines on these two maps stand for a lifetime of hope and belief and hate. Men died in thousands to make or unmake these changes. When the map of 1814 was in the making, the tune of *La Marseillaise*, the cry of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," rang from Cadiz to Warsaw. Some heard it with joy and hope, like men hearing a new gospel. Some felt dread and hate, remembering the Reign of Terror and the humiliation of the Church.

Changing Ideas.

Men die and their sons take their places: but the sons rarely think just as their fathers thought. The deeds of the French Revolution, of the French armies, are now only the stories and shadows of things. But the thoughts, the ideas, the way of looking upon life, that came with the great European wave of 1789–1815 are not mere stories and shadows; they are part of all the lives of all the nations that have made Europe ever since. You can go

over an old castle, such as Heidelberg, and see the ruins of the towers that the French blew down. But you cannot look across the town and hillside and see how the lives of the men working in the vineyards, the very lessons learned in the schools, were all changed by the movement of which the cannon and powder were but signs.

Thought and Feeling.

The two great driving forces among men are feeling and thought, or emotions and ideas. Men in their actions, and men of action, rulers and warriors, are driven by the passion and the ideas within them and around them. Without the driving force, they would have no desire to act, nor could they persuade men to follow. Whether the great man, the Thinker or the Doer, creates great and spacious times, or whether great times breed great men, is an old and somewhat weary argument. But in all great movements we can trace, if we search for it, the driving Idea, even if we cannot always discover whether it was born in one heart and brain or in a thousand.

The Revolutionary Idea.

The Idea which gave the French Revolution its power and its passion was not new, but very old. It is, that the sovereign power of a nation is not a gift from any king or class, however powerful or intelligent, but the sovereign power is in the nation, it is the nation. We may call the idea Democracy. We may put it into three words instead of one, as the French did—"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." And as Alexander of Russia and Frederick William of Prussia marched into Paris after the defeat of Napoleon, they stood for the triumph of the opposite idea—the idea of Authority. Louis XVIII. himself on his return "in the baggage of the Allies" was not so impressive a representation of Authority as were the conquering monarchs.

The Idea of Authority.

"Good Europeans."

One feeling grew quite strong about this time that fell weaker afterwards; the feeling of Europe as a single thing. There had been long periods when the idea of one Church, one Law, one Language, and even one Empire, for the whole of Europe seemed to most men the most natural thing in the world. The Church, the Roman Law, the Latin tongue (it was spoken then) and "The" Empire,

were not national, but European. Strong national feelings in Europe hardly existed before the fourteenth century. But men became keener about being good Frenchmen or good Englishmen than about being "good Europeans." Now the Revolutionary struggle brought the idea of Europe before men's minds. The Revolutionaries wished to spread their doctrine and their system over the whole Continent; and their conquerors wished to establish a rule of Authority over the whole Continent. But an attempt made by any group, any nation, to force its own system or its own ideas, however excellent, upon other peoples, does not help any of us to become good Europeans, but rather the reverse. The year 1914 reminded us that any real union of the peoples of Europe is delayed by the attempt to preach by the sword. A good European does not want to make Europe all of one pattern.

Prussianising.

The Reaction.

The lives and thoughts of men had been so shaken and re-set during the Revolutionary War that things could never again be just as they had been. Yet this "making Europe just what she had been before the Revolution" was exactly the task that the Powers set themselves to accomplish. The work was begun in 1814. It was interrupted by the escape of Napoleon and the Hundred Days. It was continued, and its first stages were completed at Vienna, its last effective stage at Verona. But before that stage was reached, the work of undoing had also begun.

1815.
1822.

Before we examine the Settlement of Europe, to see what it was and why it failed, we shall take a glance over Europe as it stood in 1816, to get some idea of the state of the nations at the time.

CHAPTER II

EUROPE IN 1816

THE centre of Europe for the years before Waterloo was Paris. The centre of politics for the years after Waterloo, as we shall see, was Vienna. But the world which had for ages been agricultural was now very rapidly becoming industrial and commercial. The first of the new manufacturing countries was Britain. She was calling herself "the workshop of the world." So we may take our stand, for a glance at Europe in 1816, in our own country. The Centre of Europe.

The peace was followed in Britain by a period of distress, for which there were many causes. There were bad harvests in 1800, 1801, 1810, 1811, 1816, and there was no quick or cheap method of importing corn, even apart from taxes upon it. Money was "scarce"; there was much paper money, which was not worth its face value until a year or two later. Taxes were heavy, prices high, wages low. Shiploads of goods sent abroad after the war found little sale, for the distress was world-wide. Weavers in Lancashire, iron-workers in South Wales, could earn about six shillings a week. A quartern loaf cost a shilling. Distress in Britain.

On the land, the old English "yeoman" or peasants had almost disappeared as a class. It began to be necessary to teach English children what the word "peasant" meant; "labourer" they understood; "yeoman" began to mean something between a farmer and a soldier. For with the improved agriculture and the large farms, came the spread of the system of landlord —farmer—labourer. Large numbers of small farmers or Yeoman Farmers.

peasants disappeared; many became labourers, hiring themselves out for wages. Corn had stood at a high price during the war, and most of the farmers and landowners profited. But in 1816, many even of the farmers were hit. Some emigrated, some were imprisoned for debt. The countryside was full of people who were gaunt and weak from actual starvation, "as thin as herrings," wrote Cobbett at the time, "dragging their feet after them, pale as a ceiling, and sneaking about like beggars."

The Enclosures of Land for Wheat.

The high price of bread caused a great deal of land to be laid down in wheat. Thousands of acres of "waste" or "common" land were taken into cultivation under a series of Enclosure Acts. This was a profitable business, but it cost a good deal of money at the start, and the small farmer could not take advantage of it. Besides, wheat was more cheaply grown on large farms. As the common land was taken in, the labourer lost his right to pasture his cow upon it, to cut wood for the winter. Even when he received something in return, it usually left him worse off than before. He felt himself more doomed than ever to be a labourer all his life or until he crept to the workhouse to end his days.

The Corn Laws.

Meanwhile, those whose wealth depended upon the rents of farming land feared that with the peace the price of corn would fall through importation from abroad; and then rents must fall too. The Corn Law of 1815 was passed, prohibiting the importation of wheat until the price stood at £4 the quarter, and of oats, rye, peas, beans, and barley until they stood at correspondingly high prices. This, it was claimed, would protect the landowner, and through him the farmer, and so the labourer. The labourers complained that the benefits never got to the end of the journey.

The Towns.

In the towns, things were no better. There also wages were low, and there also men tramped wearily and vainly in search of work. The whole country suffered, and the poorest suffered most. Parliament consisted entirely of representatives of the wealthy classes, and

chiefly, at that time, of the great landowners; and it was far readier to protect the property of the rich than to safeguard the livelihood of the poor. But apart from a disinclination to make any changes, there was a very real ignorance of what changes should be made, and how to make them. To put down disorder is always easier than to discover and remove the causes of disorder. Thus, when the farm labourers and unemployed men round Ely rose in revolt, marching 1500 strong under a "Bread or Blood" banner, and demanding cheaper 1816. bread, the Government had five of them hanged. That ended the riot, but it did not help to feed the rest. Again, a great meeting of unemployed in London in the same year roused the Government to have the leaders tried for treason. The jury, more intelligent than the Government, dismissed the case; but food and employment remained as scarce as ever.

Many of those who were employed were in bad enough Children. case. A report issued from Parliament on children in factories gives a terrible picture. There were thousands 1816. of children 6 or 7 years old working in factories, hundreds at 5 years old. A case of a girl of 4, another of a boy of 3, is mentioned. Sixteen hours' work a day was common enough. The children would fall asleep over their work, and be beaten to rouse them. An Apprentices (1802.) Act had already been passed, but it was of little value. Neither was another Act which forbade children under 9 1819. to work in factories, and fixed the day's work of children from 9 to 16 years at twelve hours. These Acts were useless, because they were not properly enforced. The evil went on, and England paid very dearly for being the first manufacturing country in the world. The price was paid by the poorest and the weakest.

Taxes were not only heavy but lay heaviest upon the Taxes. poorer classes, for they were raised chiefly upon things in common use. The tax on income and property was the great exception. It fell mostly upon the wealthier classes, but in 1816, the war being ended, it was the first tax to be taken off.

This picture that we get of Britain in 1816 is black enough; and the working classes, who fill the whole background of the picture, give us an impression of complete misery and despair. But of course there was not complete misery. Men laughed, sang, worked, idled, were now jolly and now doleful, as people always are, however poor. But a heavy hand lay upon very many of them, and neither they nor their rulers were quite sure of what should be done. Older Governments had often stepped in to settle or to manage affairs of work and business, sometimes with benefit, sometimes disastrously. The generation that lived just before Waterloo had learned to believe that the less a Government had to do with work and wages, trade and commerce, the better for everybody. The cries of the day were "No Interference," "Freedom of Contract," "Free Labour," "Free Trade," "*Laissez faire*" (Let things—and men—alone). They had begun with Adam Smith's famous work, *The Wealth of Nations*, and they have not finished with us or we with them, to this day. In 1816 the feeling was strong in England that Government should keep order, protect life and property, and do no more—except to raise taxes enough to be able to do these things. It was said, for example, that nothing but mischief could come of workmen combining into trade unions, to get higher wages; and by the Combination Laws any workmen who attempted to form such unions could be tried for conspiracy. Nearly twenty years later, some labourers in Dorsetshire were sentenced to penal servitude for trying to form a union.

"*Laissez faire.*" (1776.) (1800.) (1834.)

The Continent.

Not in Britain only, but in Europe generally, there was exhaustion and distress. "All were plunged," says the Annual Register for 1816, "in the same misfortunes of ruinous expenses, wasted finances, heavy public debts, and immoderate imports." It speaks of unemployment, of low wages, and of riots, in all Europe.

France.

France was disordered and exhausted, and the supporters of the Bourbon Louis XVIII., the Buonapartists, and the Republicans, could not soon forget their old

quarrels. The land had been divided up at the Revolution, so that there were numbers of peasant families tilling land that they owned or rented, and this gave some security to the countryside. But France was now the chief industrial country on the Continent, very largely because of the system of Napoleon. She had passed through a period of almost free trade and of swift industrial development. Her duties on imports sank to the lowest in her history—an average of about 10 per cent, corn coming in free. Upon the Restoration she returned to a system of protection. Her duties in 1816 were very high indeed, though the corn famine of that year made it impossible to tax imported corn. (1791.)

Serfdom had almost disappeared from England by the reign of Elizabeth, though a variety of it remained among miners for two centuries longer. In France it lasted to the Revolution, and longer still in Prussia and in Austria, longest in Russia. So that in 1816 most of the land in Europe was still tilled by serfs, and in the old "three-field system," that is, wheat, barley, and "fallow." The fields were without hedges. They were divided into strips, divided out yearly among the different families, but worked by the whole village together. The serfs were not slaves. They gave labour instead of rent, and they had a claim on a fixed share of the crops, though they did not separately own any land. Serfs. 1789, 1806, 1848, 1861.

In Spain the unpaid soldiers were deserting. Many became beggars or bandits. There was a plot in Madrid, followed by many arrests, and torture was freely used upon suspected persons. Spain.

Italy was overrun by brigands in the hills, and harassed by pirates from the sea. There was disorder and misgovernment everywhere, the central and southern states being particularly bad. Pirates from Tunis attacked ships lying in the Tiber. A British Fleet bombarded Algiers, another nest of pirates, and set free some thousands of slaves. Italy. 1816.

Prussia was awaiting hopefully a Parliamentary Constitution promised by the king. A kind of Parliament Prussia.

1816. for the German Empire met at Frankfurt—the Diet of Princes and their Representatives. The Austrian President in his opening speech said that Germany was not to become a single great power, but a union of states. While he was speaking, a German General, Clausewitz, was writing down that a United Germany could only be made by the sword. The echoes of these sayings were in men's ears a hundred years later.

This all comes out blacker than reality, because we can only mention the striking things, and in 1816 most of the striking things were not cheerful. The peoples of Europe were weary of conflict. They had had their fill of war, and were ready for peace on any terms. But those who were "good Europeans," and who looked around after Waterloo, saw before them the task of straightening things out after two revolutions, one that had come from France, the other, the Industrial Revolution, that had come from England. This second movement was not so sudden or so violent as the other, and it took a longer time to make its full effect; but the effect was tremendous, changing the whole course of men's daily lives.

The Two Revolutions.

Freedom. Both were movements, in different senses, towards freedom. Both took men out of a fixed state of some security with less liberty into an unfixed state of more liberty with less security. The worker was no longer, in England or in France, bound to the land; but also, he had no longer a claim upon the land. Liberty, for a man or for a nation, is to be free to venture, to achieve, to blunder, to fail; to be responsible for one's own actions. He who will not be ruled must learn to rule himself.

CHAPTER III

THE SETTLEMENT

The New Map of Europe

The centre of politics for Europe had changed from Paris to Vienna. Power moved naturally from the home of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" to the "holy city" of Church and State. Vienna.

It was here that the settlement was made. Vienna had been an outpost of the old Roman Empire, a meeting-place for Crusaders, a Christian bulwark against the Turk, the heart of a half-united body of states that for centuries made up Central Europe. From the French Revolution to Waterloo, Europe is best studied from a watch-tower in Paris; after Waterloo, from Vienna. It is the meeting-place of uplands and lowlands, of East and West, of North and South Europe, of German and Slav and Hungarian. If you will look at a contour map or a relief map of Europe you will see that Vienna stands as the gateway between the Northern Europe plain and the South-East of Europe, over the plains of Hungary. There are not many path-ways from the Mediterranean to the Northern Seas, and the few that exist have been well used. For civilisation came to us from the South and East.

This view of things is somewhat dulled in 1919, but it was clearer in 1815, although time had already dimmed it; and this running-over of the reasons why Vienna was the meeting-place of the kings who were to re-make Europe will clear our ideas. Those reasons, as we have just seen, were geographical, historical, and religious.

The Diplomats.

Here gathered the men who were to restore Europe, mark its boundaries, allot its rulers. A new map was to be made. First among these men was one whose influence was about to dominate the Courts and the rulers of Europe for the greater part of a generation—Prince Metternich, the chief Minister of Francis I., the Austrian Emperor. Francis was a narrow-minded man, whose chief belief was that whatever is old must be good, whatever is new should be at least suspected. "I have no need of learned men," he said, "I want faithful subjects." Metternich shared the Emperor's views, but while Francis was rather a stupid man, Metternich was brilliant. He loved trickery and the battle of brain against brain. He believed in order and good government and he believed these things were only possible under a monarch with almost absolute power.

Metternich and Francis.

He considered that Britain, under a Parliament, was a nation without any real government; and he hated the French Revolution and the ideas behind it with the whole strength of his nature.

Alexander I.

On Metternich's right was the Tsar Alexander I., the founder of the Holy Alliance—a bond between the monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia declaring their intention of supporting the Christian religion, and of supporting each other. It came to be looked upon as the "Trade Union" of absolute kings.

Alexander meant it seriously and honestly. He was a man of strong though not of steady or fixed ideas. He wished to rule well, and was inclined to be kind so long as those he ruled were obedient.

Frederick William III.

Over against Alexander was Frederick William III. of Prussia, well-meaning also, but weak. He was generally the first to follow the lead of the Tsar.

Talleyrand.

Talleyrand was there to speak for France—the one man who could meet Metternich with craft for craft and argument for argument.

He had been Bishop, Revolutionary, Royalist, in turn. He was here now, at least to do his best for France; and he did it with wonderful skill. England was represented by Lord Castlereagh, Marquis of Londonderry, and later by the Duke of Wellington. Castlereagh was respected by

Castlereagh.

many, hated by still more, loved by few. He was the British Metternich of his time. The Duke of Wellington, who succeeded him at the Congresses, had now ended his career as a soldier, and was beginning a new career as a statesman. Wellington.

Among these men, the most effective was Metternich; the artfullest, Talleyrand; the best-intentioned, Alexander; the stupidest, Francis. Both Alexander and Frederick William had some sympathy with the ideas of free nations, but as time went on they saw that after all "it was their trade to be kings." Metternich said once that a Liberal Pope was a contradiction in terms; and he had much the same idea of a liberal king. He set himself to win over Alexander to a complete repression of everything that the French Revolution stood for. It is curious now to notice that the plan for Poland put forward by the Tsar Nicholas II. in 1914 is the plan of Tsar Alexander I. in 1814: a united Poland within the Russian Empire. But Austria and Prussia, who "shared the plunder" with Russia when Poland was divided up, were not inclined to surrender their shares. (1772–95.)

The work of settlement was not finished until 1822, for there were several Congresses and treaties — at Aix-la-Chapelle, at Laybach, at Verona. We shall not now follow the discussions and arguments; it will be enough if we examine the work that was done. Congresses.

The world has been reminded lately, by the Balkan War of 1913, that it is easy for allies to fall out when the victory has been won and the spoils are to be shared. So it was after Waterloo. Disputes.

Russia, as we have already said, wanted to take over the whole of Poland. Britain was already at the beginning of a period of alarm and suspicion with regard to Russia; an alarm that helped to create the Crimean War forty years later, and that did not die down until it was replaced by a more pressing peril from Germany, at the close of the nineteenth century. Austria and Prussia joined their objections to those of Britain, for the excellent reason that each of them wanted a share of Poland for herself.

Talleyrand, for France, made it his business to keep the Allies as suspicious of each other as possible, lest they should agree too well—for upon one thing they were agreed —to give check to France, which stood to them for the Revolutionary idea.

Poland and Saxony.

If Russia wanted all Poland, Prussia wanted all Saxony. The King of Saxony had supported Napoleon to the end, and Prussia's claim was that he should be punished by the loss of his kingdom to her. These two countries, Poland and Saxony, were the chief ground for quarrel, though there were many others. Britain put in no especial claim for territory, as she had already helped herself during the war to Cape Colony, Ceylon, Malta, and a handful of West India Islands. Since the loss of Calais, Britain had no inclination for any possessions in Europe beyond possible fortresses.

The Slave Trade.

(1807.)

Castlereagh, for Britain, tried hard to secure a universal suppression of the slave trade. We had stopped it recently, but the trade had simply passed from British to Spanish ships. A clause condemning the trade was put in the final act of the Congress, but it had little effect.

Russia.

Russia was the chief gainer, and her gains altered her history. The possession of the greater part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (which Napoleon had set up in the place of the old kingdom of Poland) brought Russia out of the East and nearer to the centre of European affairs. During the war she had taken northern Finland from Sweden and this she was to keep. In the south her frontiers were advanced to the River Pruth.

Prussia.

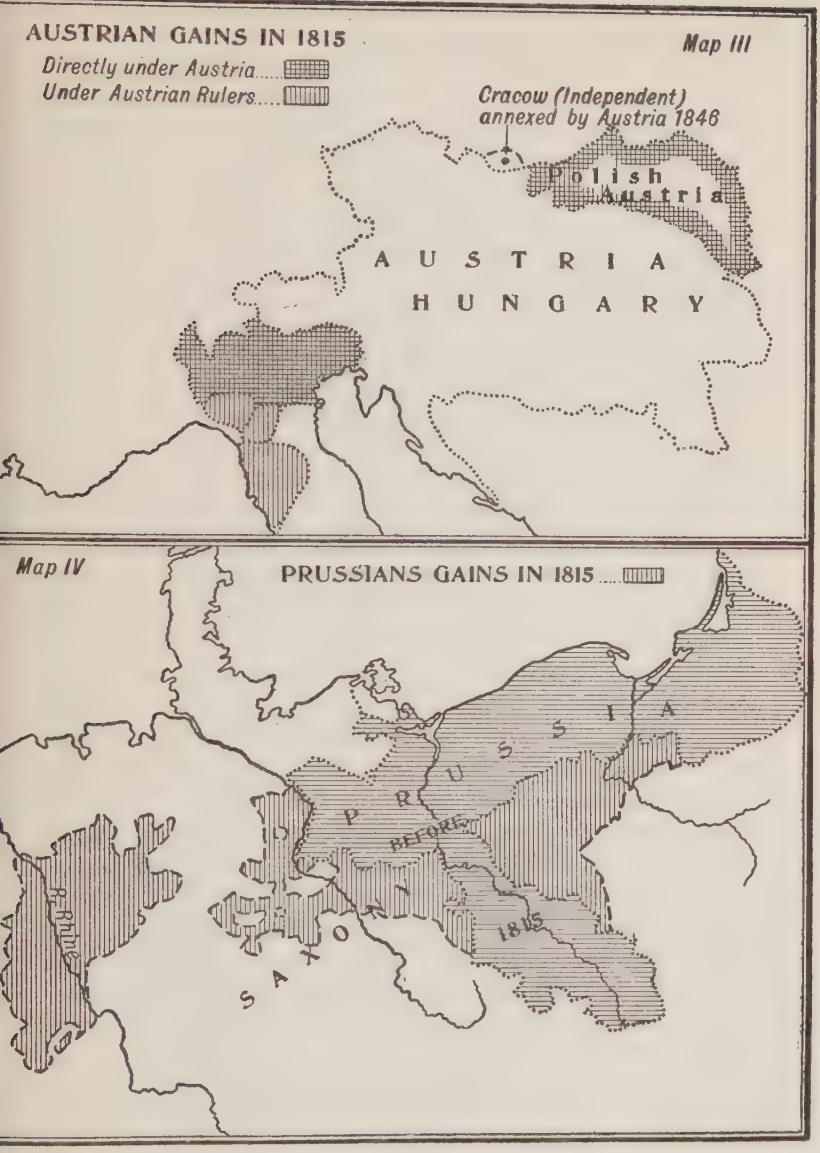
Prussia gained the Posen province of Poland, the Rhine provinces, Westphalia, and nearly half of Saxony—the remaining half being left to the King of Saxony. Her territories were now in two great portions, east and west.

(1866.)

The union of the two by the inclusion of Hanover came later.

Austria.

Austria not only extended her boundaries, but abandoned some of her former possessions—the Austrian Netherlands, which were roughly the Belgium of to-day ; and some territories in south Germany. Metternich was


AUSTRIAN GAINS IN 1815
Map III
Directly under Austria
Under Austrian Rulers
Cracow (Independent) annexed by Austria 1846
Polish Austria
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Map IV
PRUSSIANS GAINS IN 1815
PRUSSIA
PRUSSIA BEFORE 1815
SAXONY
R. Rhine

shrewd enough to see that distant possessions separated by other states were a burden to a land-power like Austria, being difficult and costly to defend. On the other hand, Austria took north Italy, the eastern Adriatic and the Tyrol; and kept the Galician province of Poland. Austria now dominated the new German Confederation to the north, and also Italy to the south. Of ancient Poland, one tiny independent state was left, Cracow.

All this would be but a string of names with little meaning, unless it is set out in maps. Most of it can be traced by the help of the maps on page 19, but a large map of Europe should be used at the same time.

Authority and Rights. The Great Powers were not only engaged in extending their boundaries. They were also determined on making a lasting settlement in Europe, and according to the ideas they held so firmly. Those ideas were, of course, exactly opposed to the ideas of the Revolution. The Kings of the Settlement were intent on establishing order, restoring monarchs and rulers to the thrones of their inheritance, making those rulers as strong as possible in their own lands; and to them these three things were but one thing. They saw Europe as a mass of estates which were to be handed over to their rightful owners. But they had by no means as clear an idea of the rights of peoples and nations as they had of the rights of kings; and here is the chief reason why Europe spent a good part of the following century in undoing their work.

Belgium. Belgium, abandoned by Austria, was given to Holland as consolation for the Dutch loss of the Cape and Ceylon to England. But Belgium was largely Catholic, French-speaking and industrial; Holland was Protestant, commercial and agricultural. The arrangement only lasted (1830.) until Belgium revolted and made herself independent.

Switzerland. Swiss territory, which had been cut down somewhat during the Revolutionary period, was restored to its Denmark. former size. Denmark lost Norway, which was joined to Sweden.

Italy. The arrangements in Italy explain the ideas behind the Settlement best of all. There was no such thing

as an Italian nation in Metternich's view. Italy, he said, was "only a *geographical expression*." Except in the north-west (Sardinia), Italy was divided between the Church and the Austrian or Bourbon royal families. Central Italy was restored to the rule of the Pope, and Sardinia to the house of Savoy. All the rest of Italy north of the Papal states was given into Austrian hands; Lombardy and Venetia to the Austrian Emperor, Parma to Marie Louise, Tuscany to Ferdinand IV., Modena to Francis of Este.

South Italy with Sicily went to the Bourbon, Ferdinand I. This was Ferdinand's second restoration, for he had regained Naples earlier by the help of Nelson, and the (1799.) cruelty and stupidity that marked his return at that time gave little promise for the kingdom of the Two Sicilies over which he now came to rule.

It is confusing and troublesome for any one who knows Maps. only a twentieth-century map of Europe to try to follow all these arrangements, but the history of Europe for the last century cannot be followed unless this is made clear first; and the use of maps will help very greatly.

Now let us look at the "new" Europe, and still as if The "New" Europe. from Vienna. A great number of German states fill Central Europe and of these there are only two that have any likelihood of controlling the others—Austria and Prussia. Austria is the older in authority and influence, Prussia the more vigorous. Each has within her boundaries and under her rule, races that are not German, but this is vastly truer of Austria than of Prussia. Russia has grown. She is coming more and more into Europe. Republican France is crushed, and the monarchies around her are determined to keep a watchful eye upon her. But for the present, her ancient kings have been restored, and her Royalists are everywhere in power. The old royal houses are established in all Europe, and the peace of kings is upon the land. How much is really settled, and how little, we shall see as the story continues.

For there was one very strong feeling left out of the Nationality. reckoning altogether—the feeling that great masses of men

have towards each other, called Nationality. It is difficult to describe, for it is not always founded upon having the same language, or the same religion, or upon belonging to the same race, though all these things count. It grows and changes from time to time. But one thing is certain, that where it is strong, men will fight hard for it—either to join themselves with those of the same nationality, to throw off the rule of a foreigner, or to free themselves from a union with people of a different nationality. The first of these things was done in Italy, and the second also. The second and third were done in Belgium. The first, again, was done in Germany, but not so completely. The story of Europe since Waterloo is largely the story of the nationalities fighting towards the union of like with like, the separation of unlikes. The kings at Vienna built a strong house and left the nationalities outside. In a few years, those left without were battering at the doors. Nationality is only a feeling—the feeling of being very like some people, and very unlike others, bringing about a desire to join with the one and not the other ; but it is a very strong feeling, too strong for kings or the armies of kings. It has been strong enough to shake all Europe.

PART II

1815–1848

THE OLD NATIONS RESTORED

REACTION AND REVOLUTION: *LAISSEZ FAIRE* AND FREE TRADE

CHAPTER IV

WESTERN EUROPE, 1815–1828

To follow the history of Europe for a hundred years we must have some clear plan, for with a dozen countries to consider, there is a constant danger of confusion. It will be as well to look now, and from time to time, at the Table of Contents. We are not going to take the complete history of each country separately for the whole century; nor are we going to attempt the exact opposite, which would be to carry on the history of the whole of Europe from year to year. This last would be the best plan of all, only that it is too difficult for writers and for readers. Our plan is something between the two. General Plan.

We take France first of all, in the years that followed Waterloo, because once again in France a wonderful experiment is being tried. A country that had passed through such great changes in so short a time, that had leaped from a Monarchy almost absolute, to a Republic mad for liberty and mad with liberty, and then to an Empire that was half republican and wholly military, this country was now put back under her old line of kings. It was just a great experiment, and every one was curious, many were hopeful, many were doubtful as to how it would work. France.

Louis XVIII. did not begin his reign in very happy circumstances. Frenchmen, with memories of the pride and power of their country fresh in their minds, found themselves in a land of narrower boundaries, with an army of 150,000 foreign soldiers holding its fortresses, a fine of 700 millions of francs to be paid and a king who, Louis XVIII.

1818. whether he turned out good or bad, was plainly forced upon them. The Duke of Wellington withdrew from France with the last of the allied soldiers when France had arranged for the final payments. They were not far short of 200 million pounds, if we reckon according to the values of money at the beginning of the twentieth century.

King and Nobles. Although Louis XVIII. believed in the divine right of kings to rule as firmly as did his fathers before him, he was quite aware that the world had changed greatly since the Revolution, and he was inclined to rule quietly and without violence. Like our own Charles II., he had no wish to go on his travels again. But he was surrounded by angry and embittered nobles "more royalist than the king." Many of them had suffered from the Revolution, and all of them hated it and all its works. At their head was the king's brother, the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles X.

The Charter. When Louis XVIII. first came to the throne he granted a Charter to his subjects. He did not admit any right of the people to demand a Charter, for he stood as his ancestors had done, on the right to rule by power divine. But he knew, and the Allies knew, that France could not be flung back into absolute monarchy without grave danger of another revolution. The chief points of the Charter of 1814 were these:

1. The king governed; he commanded the army and navy; made war and peace; appointed ministers; proposed laws.

Parliament. 2. A Parliament of two Houses would discuss laws sent to it, and could ask the king to propose a law. The consent of Parliament was necessary for taxes.

The House of Peers was appointed by the king, life members or hereditary members, as he chose. The Lower House was elected, but out of about six millions over the age of twenty-one years, only a hundred thousand could vote—these of course of the wealthier classes.

This Parliament was closely copied from the English Parliament of the time. There was a general agreement

that the English system of Government ensured steadiness and firmness.

The really important changes that the Revolution brought about were left untouched. We can set them down under these heads : Changes since 1789.

1. PROPERTY.—An immense area of France had changed hands during the Revolutionary period, and the number of small farms had increased. Many peasants, indeed, had bought small estates before the Revolution, but the dividing up into small farms was increased by the law of the " Code Napoléon," by which children were to share equally in their father's property. Property.

2. LAW.—The Revolution swept away a great host of privileges of the nobility and clergy, and made all men equal before the Law. Napoleon had had the laws simplified and set in order in his famous " Code." Law.

3. RELIGION.—An agreement had been made between Napoleon and Pope Pius VII., by which the Church came under the control of the State. Religion. (1801.)

4. LIBERTY.—Serfdom had disappeared. The mass of the nation was not likely to accept heartily the idea of classes privileged by birth. The doctrines expressed by Rousseau's famous book, *Du Contrat Social* (The Social Contract), were strongly impressed on many of the French people : " Man is born free " ; " Liberty springs from the nature of man " ; " Might is not right " ; " To surrender liberty is to cease being a man " ; " Each member of a nation puts himself under the control of the general will of which he is a part " ; " The general will, alone, may control the powers of the State." How would such ideas blend with a Bourbon system of government ? The " Social Contract " and the Bourbons.

As a matter of fact, they could not and did not blend, not because one set of ideas was quite right and the other quite wrong, but because they were so completely different from each other. Man is certainly born free if he is lucky enough to be born into a free state. Just as certainly, if his parents are slaves, he is born a slave. In all cases he is born helpless. Might is not always right ; but if we go as far as to say right is might, we are saying

that right always wins ; then, whichever wins, must have been right, and that comes to saying that Might is Right. The justification of Right is not that it is Might, but that it is Right. People put all these things differently now. They see the lives of men and nations as constant growth and change, not as fixed things. They do not imagine a nation having a settled Contract with all the people in it. They see slowly-changing nations made up of slowly-changing inhabitants. To-day grows out of yesterday, and never grows exactly like yesterday. Where men live together, and some cry "Liberty," and others "Order," they are not asking for quite different things, though they often think they are so doing.

Order and Liberty.

The "White Terror."

Louis had no intention of combating all these great changes. But the extreme Royalists wanted to go back to the France of the old kings. A savage persecution of Republicans and Protestants took place, especially in the south. There was something like a war of revenge, with plundering and murder. Napoleon's Generals were put on trial, and Marshal Ney, who had fought so bravely at Waterloo, was shot. The troops of the Allies had to interfere to prevent Frenchmen from murdering Frenchmen in the name of the king and Church. This was "The White Terror." The king and Government did not start the persecution, but neither did they try to stop it. Louis was not revengeful, but simply rather indolent and rather selfish ; and of course he did not love Republicans or Democrats of any kind.

1816.

Parties.

There were many parties in France, as there have been ever since—Royalists, Ultra-Royalists, Liberals, Buonapartists, Republicans. Talleyrand was the first Minister, then a moderate Royalist followed (Richelieu), who was in turn succeeded by a "Liberal" Minister. But the Minister of the end of Louis' reign was a Royalist of a very deep blue ; and he was Minister again after Louis' death.

1821.

We can trace here a movement towards a mild Liberalism, and a Royalist reaction. The first was fostered by Louis in the interests of safety for France and for himself.

The starting-point of the second was the murder of the Duc de Berri, the king's grandson, and the sole heir and hope of the dynasty. The Royalists were naturally enraged. The Republican murderer had struck a blow against his own hopes, as such people often do. Decazes (the Liberal Minister) resigned, and a great Royalist wave began to sweep over France, growing in force until it broke on the rock of Revolution in 1830. Duc de Berri, 1820.

News came in 1821 that saddened the Buonapartists. The great Napoleon was dead. Yet almost on the heels of his death came a kind of after flash of the old Napoleonic deeds of military glory. It came from Spain, and there we must turn in order to understand it. Death of Napoleon I.

Ferdinand VII. of Spain was a Bourbon, descended, like Louis XVIII., from the Grand Monarch, Louis XIV. He had been kept in France by Napoleon, while Joseph Buonaparte was ruling as King of Spain. In 1814 Ferdinand returned to Madrid, through cheering and rejoicing crowds. The country was governed by the Cortes, a Parliament created under the Constitution of 1812. This Constitution was the work of a group of enthusiastic Spanish Liberals, who accepted very fully the Revolutionary idea. It proclaimed the sovereignty of the people, and put very full powers into the hands of the Cortes, a single chamber elected by universal suffrage. Ferdinand began by accepting the Constitution, but on his way to Madrid he witnessed so much Royalist enthusiasm, that before he reached the palace he abolished the Constitution, dismissed the Cortes, and took his place practically as an absolute monarch. Spain. The Cortes.

Ferdinand showed the Bourbons at their worst. He was ignorant, suspicious, untruthful, treacherous, and cruel. Almost the only "good work" recorded of him was that he embroidered a silken robe with gold for the Church. A campaign against "Liberalism" swept the land, and Ferdinand, unlike his cousin Louis XVIII., took an active part. Many were imprisoned, banished, or executed as opponents of the Crown or the Church. The nobles were restored to their ancient privileges, the Ferdinand VII. of Spain.

clergy were declared free from taxation, the Inquisition was set up once more.

People of Spain.

The mass of the people were inclined to support, or at least accept, all these changes. It was chiefly in the few large towns among the "Intellectuals" that the ideas of the Revolution were strong. But Ferdinand and his advisers, while vigorous in persecuting, were incapable of active government. Trade languished, agriculture was backward. The people were very poor and very ignorant. Their one source of help in distress, of education in their ignorance, was the Church, and what little they got of either was through the Church. The navy was in decay, the soldiers and sailors were neglected, their small wages a year in arrears. Every year from 1814 there were riots and risings in the army.

Spanish Colonies.

Spanish America was demanding a form of self-government. This Ferdinand refused, demanding in his turn the ancient tribute of money; and Spanish America, from California to Del Fuego, passed from the Spanish Crown. Ferdinand hoped to reconquer his lost colonies (he viewed them as a number of estates, the property of the king) by the help of the Holy Alliance. That failing for the present, he assembled an army at Cadiz to reconquer America.

1819.

Revolts, 1820.

Some forces were sent, and when the fever-stricken remnants returned to Spain, the army revolted. Alexander of Russia sold some ships to Ferdinand at a low price, but they were not sound enough for crossing the Atlantic. There was a rising at Barcelona, another at Madrid. Here the Inquisition was attacked and the instruments of torture were broken. The terrified Ferdinand declared for the Constitution of 1812, and ordered that it should be explained in every church. A period of something like civil war followed. It was now that the Royalists of France came to the help of the Royalists of Spain.

The French Invasion.

A French army marched through Spain almost without opposition to Cadiz, where the Cortes had retired, taking the king with them. There was a siege, followed by the

surrender of the Liberals. Ferdinand signed a general pardon. But no sooner was he restored to power than a 1824. savage persecution began, which disgusted the French leaders. They tried to check it, but in vain. The Spanish "White Terror." Spanish "White Terror" brought death, imprisonment, or banishment to many thousands. Ferdinand spent a great deal of the remainder of his life (he died in 1833) in suppressing insurrections.

Nor was Portugal unshaken. Her king had been in Portugal. Brazil since 1807, her army was officered by Englishmen, her people were impoverished. Just after the Revolution in Spain there were risings in Portugal and the English officers were expelled. When John VI. unwillingly came 1820. from Brazil he was offered a Constitution very like the Spanish one of 1812, and he signed it, also unwillingly. 1820. The Cortes demanded that John's son Pedro should also return; but Pedro was promptly proclaimed Emperor of Brazil.

And now a curious complication came about. John's Miguel. younger son Miguel, more Royalist than his easy-going father, rose against the Cortes, and the king took refuge from his own son on board an English ship. Miguel fled to Vienna, but when John died a party of "Miguel- 1826. ites" rose against the Regency that was acting in Lisbon for Pedro, still in Brazil. They crossed into Spain, where they were openly encouraged by Ferdinand. The Regency appealed to England, and Canning at once sent an English force to its aid. So here was a despotic Spain, supported by French soldiers, a Constitutional Portugal supported by British troops. Canning's policy of interference on 1827. behalf of Constitutionalism, however, ended with his death in the year following. Miguel landed in Portugal and was proclaimed king. While the now usual persecution of the defeated party was proceeding there was another rising in Spain. In this state we leave the unhappy Peninsula for the present. In France the National Guard, which was rightly suspected of being half-hearted in supporting the Monarchists, had just been disbanded. A French army was preparing to

go East. There was no sign yet of a calm and settled Europe.

HOLLAND. (NETHERLANDS) AND BELGIUM.

The kingdom of the Netherlands set up by the Powers included the old United Provinces (Holland), the Austrian Netherlands, and the Bishopric of Liége—the last two afterwards formed Belgium. King William I. had a

1815.

Constitution drawn up, which displeased the Belgian Liberals, because it did not offer enough power or freedom to the Parliament, and displeased the Belgian Catholics because it offered too much freedom to the Press. The king called an assembly to approve it, but the assembly disapproved. The Dutch king and Government, however, said that the Belgians really had accepted the Constitution because some of those who voted against it had only done so for religious reasons. This was a fact, but the reasoning did not convince the Belgians.

Dutch officials, Dutch taxes, and a share in the Dutch debt, seemed to many Belgians to represent their share of

1821.

the Union. When Dutch was made the official language in French-speaking districts, complaints grew louder ; but there was no outbreak until the day when Brussels took

(1830.)

fire from a revolution in Paris.

SWITZERLAND.

Switzerland and its story are the work of the Alps.

Early Growth.

The country grew from a union of small German-speaking cantons, now in the heart of modern Switzerland. Great Austrian and Burgundian armies came to grief trying to subdue the men of the mountains, and more cantons joined the victorious Leaguers. Until the French Revolution, the League was almost entirely German, but the new Swiss Republic that Napoleon set up contained a western French district and a south-eastern Italian district. A new nation grew up, and it was one that defied languages—it was neither German, French, nor Austrian, but Swiss.

Language and Religion.

After 1815 it became plain that although differences of language would not prevent the Swiss from feeling as one nation, differences of religion might do so. A group of Catholic cantons in central Switzerland was inclined to go back, along with the rest of Central Europe, to the

old system—that is, greater separation of cantons, with greater control in the hands of the nobles and clergy. Another group of cantons declared for the Liberal idea of keeping political power out of the hands of the Church. The first group was supported by the Powers lying east of Switzerland, the second by England.

Before the quarrel became serious, another difficulty had arisen. Switzerland, like Britain, became a home for political refugees of all kinds, from the mildest to the

The Political Refugees.

Map V

The Sonderbund cantons formed a band of territory running south-west from L. Constance nearly to L. Geneva (See page 33)

wildest ; from those who wanted to advise rulers to those who wanted to assassinate them. The Powers, and more particularly those of the Metternich system, pressed the Swiss Diet to demand from foreigners a certificate from their own Governments, and this was done. Some of the cantons also set up a censorship of the Press. Here again the division was between the " Liberal " and the Catholic cantons.

1823.

A dozen years after Waterloo, it was possible to forecast the future of Switzerland in more than one shape.

The Future of Switzerland.

The country might fall back into the state of a score of separated cantons. It might split into three, according to language; and these three parts might be absorbed, at a later stage, by Germany, France, and Italy—only that Germany and Italy themselves were awaiting union at this time. It might—and this seemed very likely for a time—split on religious lines, into a Catholic and a Protestant Switzerland. None of these things in fact happened. The next few years did not bring disunion, but closer union, and no one talks to-day of the possibility of a break-up of Switzerland.

CHAPTER V

BRITISH ISLES AND BRITISH EMPIRE, 1815–1828

CASTLEREAGH AND CANNING

British Politics.

THE struggle we have been describing was one between the supporters of Absolutism and those who may be described as Constitutionalists or Liberals—using this last word, however, in the Continental sense, which is much wider than the meaning given to it in Britain.

It was, of course, impossible that just this kind of contest should rage in Britain, for here a Parliamentary Constitution had long been established. The Parliament, however, meant little more than the nobility and gentry, a class then owning about four-fifths of the cultivated land of the kingdom. The swing of the pendulum in politics to which we are now accustomed did not begin under party names until after the Reform Act in 1832. But though the Government was continuously Tory during the reign of George III. and George IV., there were great differences between one Government and another. So different was the policy of Canning, for example, from that of Castlereagh, that many writers have described Canning as a Liberal. The Liberals of the Continent certainly looked upon him as their supporter, almost as their leader. In the eyes of the extreme Royalists of Vienna and Paris, Britain, in spite of her Tory Government, was altogether a Liberal nation, because her chief ruler was Parliament rather than king. Since 1689 no British monarch could claim to rule by divine right. He reigned because he had been marked out to reign by the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement.

(See page 164.)

Tories and Tories.

(1689, 1701.)

Britain at Peace.

Britain had passed through the period of the war with France and was to pass through the revolutionary years of 1820, 1830, 1848, without a serious outbreak. There certainly was some oppression, still more repression, and there were a few risings. But there was no revolution, no complete change of the method of government.

Reason.

The explanation is that the British system could be changed to almost any extent by an Act of Parliament, and Parliament was constantly feeling the pressure of public opinion. It could and did give way to strong demands for change. But a monarch ruling by divine right cannot so easily accept great changes, for to do so openly would be to surrender the very claim on which he rests,—the claim to rule by his own will.

Movements, 1815–28.

In the period 1815–1828 there were in England certain very definite and important movements which it will be well to set out.

I Political.

There was a movement towards repression, accompanied by a denial of reform, strong for a few years, then weakening, and giving way to an increasing demand for reform.

Accompanying this, there was for a while an incomplete but yet considerable support given by the English Government to the Holy Alliance and its ideas of Absolutism. This was the Castlereagh period. It corresponds to the earlier part of the reign of Alexander I. of Russia; and Alexander was full of Liberal ideas early in his life and reign. Castlereagh, a Tory minister of a "Liberal" Britain, could find many points of agreement with the Liberal Tsar of despotic Russia. But time made Alexander less liberal, Britain more liberal. Finally, towards

1822.

the end of the period, Britain fell away from the Holy Alliance altogether.

II. Economic.

These were political movements. There were two others at least equally important, not so much political as economic.

Free Trade and Free Labour.

The first was the lowering of the duties on imports; that is, a movement towards Free Trade.

The second was a movement away from Free Labour,

away from the idea that every one should be left to fight his or her own battle in all things concerning money, work, and wealth.

To these we may add that during the same time the first railway in the world was constructed (between Stockton and Darlington); spinning and weaving by machinery became general; towns began to be lit by gas; roads were improved out of knowledge—chiefly by the work of Telford and Macadam; steamships began to take the place of sailing ships; canals had been cut by dozens, and were carrying coal and heavy goods at less than a quarter of the cost of the old cart-and-packhorse methods; the pottery trade, the iron trade, as well as the textile trades, were increasing at an amazing rate. Altogether a very remarkable record for a dozen years.

1828.

Inventions and Improvements, 1815–28.

The political and economic movements we have mentioned were not separate things, but closely connected. The new manufactures had raised up a class of wealthy men, who wanted to take a share in the government of the country. They desired cheap food, cheap materials, cheap coal and iron, low wages, freedom from government interference: these things, for their trade. For themselves they wanted a share in the government. This is putting the selfish side of their desires, but the selfish side was the one that showed the most plainly.

The Factory Liberals.

From this group there grew up the modern British Liberal Party. The corresponding selfish side of their opponents showed itself in a desire for dear corn, high rents, and a strong effort to keep the control of the two Houses of Parliament in their own hands. Lastly, the selfish desire of the working class was for higher wages and easier conditions of labour. The Trade Unions grew from these last desires; the Factory Acts from the struggles of the three groups.

Tories.

Workers.

The cry for Parliamentary Reform came from the new Liberal group and from many of the workers. The great landowning class that formed the Tory party was in control of both Houses of Parliament.

Reform of Parliament.

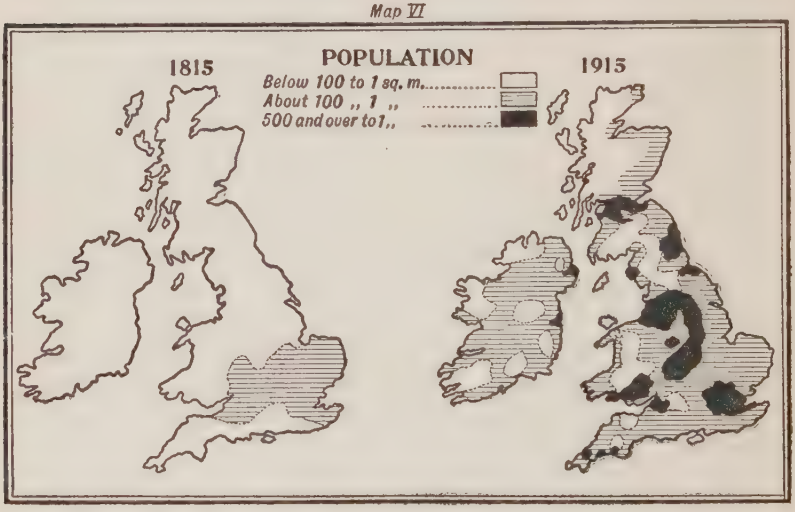
People did not trouble much about this so long as all

The Working Classes.

but a few were uneducated, and so long as it was reasonably possible to earn a tolerable living. But the distress that came after the war brought millions face to face with the possibility of starvation, hundreds of thousands near starvation itself. Men cried out then for help, and naturally they began to examine the Parliament of their time more closely, and to suggest its reform.

The growth of manufacturing towns threw masses of men together. They began to examine, argue, discuss. A real and powerful working-class newspaper, William

Map VI



Cobbett. 1819.

Cobbett's *Political Register*, was issued at what was then the very low price of twopence. "To get Parliament to improve the conditions of the people," said Cobbett, "we must first of all have a Parliament that is elected by the people." This idea was one of the roots which afterwards grew into the Reform movement (resulting in the Reform Act of 1832) and of the Chartist movement of later days, whose effects came more slowly and less noticeably. There were other roots to both of these growths; but this was the tap-root among the working classes.

Trade and Wages.

There were some, however, who were more intent upon daily life and daily bread than upon votes; who were

content enough that the wealthy should rule, since the poor were quite uneducated and unfit : and many of these were inclined to ask, not for a Reformed Parliament, but for a return to the older system when Parliament regulated trade and wages. These were brought at once into conflict with the new political economists.

The Political Economists.

Adam Smith's famous *Wealth of Nations* had now been read by educated Englishmen for a generation. In that book it was made clearer than had ever been done before, that the real wealth of the world is what is produced from year to year by the use of (1) land, (2) tools and machinery, and (3) labour of hand and brain. The owners of the land get a share of the yearly produce called Rent ; the owners of the tools and machinery get Profits and Interest ; the labourers get Wages. "And a country will produce wealth all the more quickly," said Adam Smith, "if the people who work and the people who employ them are let alone." Let the Government keep order, protect life and property, and no more.

(1776.)

Laissez Faire.

Now it is quite plain that all Governments to-day do a great deal more than that. As a matter of fact, no country has ever tried a policy of complete *laissez faire* ; but England, for many years before and after 1815, did a good deal of "letting alone," and it is doubtful whether she could have done quite as much mischief if she had gone in for wholesale meddling. For when Government interferes with work and trade, it may do so to protect the weak ; and if there is no interference, the weak are likely to suffer. The weak were those with no property and no income but an insecure wage, and they suffered accordingly.

Politics and Economics.

Here were two struggles going on ; the one for a share in the Government of the country, the other for a better and securer living. The Tory party of governing landowners was often ready to help the second movement, but was bitterly opposed to the first. The new Liberal manufacturers were keen to secure a wider parliamentary suffrage, but they held that if Parliament meddled with trade their profits would be less, and that neither the

Rents, Profits, Wages. Free Trade.

nation nor the working classes would benefit. The Tories naturally liked high rents, and the Liberals high profits. It was not at all likely that either of them should be very keen about high wages. They fought each other, however, on the question of Free Trade or Protection, and here Adam Smith and his followers, Ricardo and John Stuart Mill, were on the side of the Liberal Free Traders. That struggle is not ended yet, but on the whole the victory went to the Free Traders; and England became a Free Trade country during the nineteenth century.

Riots and Reaction. (1679.) 1817. Peterloo. 1819. The Six Acts. 1819.

In the years of distress that followed Waterloo there were many riots, and the Government, though it was incapable of dealing with the distress, was vigorous in putting down disturbances. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended and public meetings were prohibited except by special permission of a magistrate. A great meeting was held at Peterloo, near Manchester, to ask for the reform of Parliament and the removal of grievances. Soldiers and yeomanry charged the crowd and killed many people. This was followed by the passing of the Six Acts, which put a severe check, almost a complete check, upon the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the right of public meeting. The country was at least reduced to silence; and in that silence the mad old King George III. passed away, and the Regent, a man for whom no one has yet had a good word to say, became George IV.

George IV. 1820–30. 1822. Penal Reform. 1823.

The new reign begins with the quarrel between the king and his wife, Queen Caroline, and with a plot to murder the Cabinet, the "Cato Street Conspiracy." A kindlier note appears in the sweeping away of the death penalty for about a hundred offences, the beginning of a series of Acts that modified the severity of a code of law so brutal that it seems unreal to us now. About the same time, the first Act for the protection of Animals was passed.

Canning. 1822.

When Lord Londonderry (Castlereagh) committed suicide, George Canning became Foreign Secretary in his place. Lord Liverpool was still Premier, but he was a man moved by events rather than a maker of events.

Castlereagh and Canning worked in the same party as Liverpool, but their work had force and distinction.

The Catholics.

Canning had already been a strong advocate of one reform which he did not live to see accomplished. Since the time of Charles II., Catholics had not been allowed to sit in either House. As far back as 1801, Canning had stood with Pitt when George III. refused to hear of any relief being granted to Catholics. "I shall reckon any man my personal enemy who proposes any such measure," said the king; and Pitt resigned. Bills were now brought forward to enable Catholics to sit in Parliament; to allow 1821. Catholic Peers to sit in the House of Lords; and again 1822. for both Houses; but in all three cases the Bills failed 1825. to pass the Lords. The Catholic Emancipation Act did not come until 1829.

Canning and Europe.

On the Continent, Canning was viewed as the chief opponent of the Holy Alliance, and we can get a clear idea of the reason for this view by setting out the chief acts of his foreign policy.

He resisted the attempts of the Royalist section of his party to get England to join with France in supporting the King of Spain against the Revolutionaries. Further, 1820. when the Spanish Colonies cut themselves free from the Spanish War. Spanish Crown, he took two definite steps. He declared that while Spain had a right to try to reconquer her lost colonies, Britain could not admit that the Holy Alliance had any right to conquer them for her. At the same time, he suggested to James Monroe, President of the United States, that Britain and the States should act together against the Alliance. This was not done, but the President laid down in his Message to Congress what has been called the Monroe Doctrine: in brief, that the United States would resist attempts at conquest in America by European kings.

The Monroe Doctrine. 1823.

This was a policy of non-interference. But we saw in the last chapter that Canning interfered in Portugal against the Miguelite attempt to restore absolutism. We shall see in the next chapter that he supported the Greeks in their struggle for independence. No wonder then that Vienna

looked upon him as a Liberal. Metternich called him "a malevolent meteor hurled by an angry Providence upon Europe." His short and swift career was indeed meteoric; these acts were all crowded into a few years. He was Premier in 1827—despite some opposition from the extremer men of his party—but he died after a few months of office.

Canning and Home Government.

Yet at home Canning was so little of a "Liberal" that he opposed every kind of Parliamentary reform. That one fact, taken with his foreign policy, shows how misleading such words as "Liberal" or "Tory" can be, when we carry them from one generation to another. He was a great phrase-maker, and one of his phrases—rather exaggerated and theatrical—has become famous. Speaking of his action over the Spanish Colonies, he said, "I looked to Spain in the Indies; I called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old," and the phrase fired the imagination of the House and of the country.

Huskisson.

1824–27.

Freer Trade.

Meanwhile Huskisson was making great trade changes. In the four years before Canning's death he brought Britain a great way along the path to Free Trade, though his object in many cases was simply to get rid of useless and hindering rules and methods. He swept away over a thousand Acts of Parliament regulating trade; reduced the duties on imports, especially on raw materials; abolished bounties on exports; established Free Trade between England and Ireland; improved the method of collecting customs duties; allowed the British Colonies to trade where they chose; altered the old Navigation Act of 1651 so that foreign ships bringing goods from their own country were treated on the same footing as English ships, if that country granted as much to England—this is the "reciprocity" plan; and later he made a beginning of a modern system of Preference between Britain and the Colonies.

Navigation Act.

1830.

Huskisson was killed at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway.

Trade Unions.

This was for the most part a movement towards *laissez faire* in trade. The movement away from *laissez faire* was in what related to the lives of human beings. The

most important change in this respect was made by new Trade Union Acts. We have mentioned that by the law of 1800, a Trade Union was held to be simply a conspiracy, and punishable as such. For example, some weavers were imprisoned for combining to get higher wages, and were told that fixing the rate of wages was the duty of magistrates, not of workmen. However, when rates were fixed in this very case, by magistrates, the employers would not accept them, and when the weavers went on strike in consequence, their leaders were imprisoned. 1811.

In 1824 an Act was passed that made Trade Unions legal. It was largely the result of the work of Francis Place, a tailor of Charing Cross. The Act was passed quietly, Trade Unions sprang up, and the employers became alarmed. There was an enquiry, followed by a new Act in 1825, but the Unions still held most of the ground they had won. Acts of 1824 and 1825.

The weakness of the Government in dealing with labour and wages at this time is the weakness of *laissez faire*. Factory Acts were passed, but they were not enforced. Magistrates were instructed to fix wages, but the rates they fixed were not compulsory. There was the "Peel's Act" limiting children's work to twelve hours a day, and another, "Robert Owen's Act," forbidding children under nine years of age to work in factories; but the arrangements for seeing that the Acts were obeyed were so bad that the Acts were useless. A third Act showed the same weakness, and the first effective Factory Act did not come until 1833. Early Factory Acts. (1802.) 1819. 1825.

The attempts to help the wretched little chimney-sweepers showed the same thing even more clearly. No one who has read *The Water-Babies* can be anything but surprised to learn that it took seventy years to make that help real. Stories of the horrible life of the boys who crawled up chimneys to sweep them were told as early as 1760. The boys were ill-treated, they became dwarfed and weakly, they were sometimes suffocated or burned to death. Attempts were made to stop the evil, and Acts were passed again and again. There was a Parliamentary Chimney Sweeps.

Committee in 1817, another in 1818. Nothing was done until 1834, when boys under ten years were forbidden to be taken as sweeps. There were more Enquiries, Acts, or Bills. Meanwhile the boys were still suffering and dying. Lord Shaftesbury's Act of 1875 was the first step in real reform in the matter.

But why, with so plain an evil, was the cure so long delayed? We are setting this case out rather fully that it may stand as an example of what we do not now easily understand—the terror that so many people had of doing anything at all to interfere in questions of work and wages. That terror was strengthened and used by people who knew that Parliamentary interference would mean loss of money to themselves. There grew up a body of men who said that the State must not meddle in matters of industry on any account whatever, and in due time this caused the growth of a body at the other end of the line saying that the State should manage everything. These, the Individualists and the Socialists, did not fit in with the ordinary political parties; but the Liberal Party at this time was very strongly individualist. The Socialists did not appear till some time later.

The "Manchester School."

Individualists and Socialists.

Ireland.

1823.

1825.

In Ireland, a powerful new body, the Catholic Association, was formed to secure Catholic Emancipation "by legal and constitutional means," in the words of the Irish leader, Daniel O'Connell. The Association was destroyed by an Act of Parliament, but it reappeared at once, in a new form.

We must remember that the Union of Irish and English Parliaments, and the Rebellion of 1798, were events fresh in men's minds. Four-fifths of the people of Ireland were Catholics, and no one of these could hold any important post connected with the government of his country. When he was not prevented by law, he was usually prevented by the opposition of the ruling Protestants. The people were wretchedly poor, and their poverty often drove them, especially after bad harvests, to wild rioting, which in its turn was followed by severe repression. Farm wages stood at about 6d. per day. Rents were higher in some Irish

villages than in the West End of London. Rents, tithes, and taxes stood high : life and hope stood low.

In India there was a war with the Gurkhas of Nepal ; India.
a third and last Mahratta War ; a war with Burma, 1814. 1817.
which ended in the annexation of Assam. British rule 1824–26.
was extending north towards the Himalayas, south towards Singapore.

CHAPTER VI

CENTRAL EUROPE, 1815–1828

The Congresses

It is time to return to Vienna. For we now have to see what was happening in Eastern Europe between 1815 and 1828. We shall have to touch upon the Congresses of the Powers; the revolution in Italy and in Greece that came upon the heels of the Spanish revolution, already mentioned; and a war and settlement between Russia and Turkey.

Authority and Liberty.

The great Congress of Vienna of 1814–1815 was the beginning of a series of meetings of the Powers, and we regard it as the starting-point of a movement to set up a governing body for the whole of Europe. But there were two clear ideas about government in Europe: one, the Royalist idea, that monarchs should govern their possessions in the way that they themselves thought best for their subjects, helping each other if any of the subjects revolted; the other, that each nation had a right to govern itself in its own way, even if it did it rather badly. The first was the idea of the Holy Alliance, and the whole plan gradually broke up as the opposite, the democratic, national, revolutionary idea grew too strong for it.

Austria.

Austria had won no great victory single-handed during the Napoleonic War. Alone, or with allies, she had been defeated at Jemappes, Marengo, Hohenlinden, Ulm, Austerlitz, Wagram, Dresden. Invading armies had marched through her territories, and had entered her capital. Yet such was her power of recovery, that in 1816

Map VII

CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE BALKANS: RACES

Germans *Slavs*
Greeks *Turks* *Italians*
Roumanians *Magyars*
Political Boundaries in 1914

she stood firm and powerful, enlarged in lands and in influence. For she was respected as the chief supporter of Church and Crown.

Races. The Austrian Empire was made up of different races, squeezed into a union of defence by fear of pressure from without—in older days against the Turks ; later, against Russia and Prussia. The map shows what an extraordinary meeting-place of races the Empire was. It shows how the surrounding races seem to overflow into Austria —Slavs from north-east and south-east, Italians from the south-west, Germans from the north and west. These flow towards and round an island of Magyars and Rumanians. But the Hungarian centre of this group was not the dominating body. Hungary itself had indeed "subject" races within its own borders, but the ruling group of the system was that of the Germans in the West.

Religions. Austria is not a meeting-place of races only, but of religions. The Muhammadans of the south-east have been thrust back, but the Catholic Christians of the west and the Greek Christians of the east stand to-day for the split of Christian Europe into two halves, whose centres were Rome and Constantinople. The Protestant Reformation did not establish itself at all strongly in Austrian Germany. It swept across Northern Europe, but it did not cross the great mountain groups of Central Europe in full strength.

Europe and Austria. The Austrian Government after 1815—and that meant practically Metternich and the Emperor Francis I.—had a double position in Europe. On the one hand it was the head of the Austrian Empire, from Milan to Lemberg. On the other it stood to represent the old leadership of Central Europe. The ancient Holy Roman Empire was not set up again : but West Austria was a part of the new German Confederation of thirty-eight States ; and in this Confederation Austria's was the strongest voice.

Government. A modern writer gives this summary of the Austria of 1815 : "Absolutism in government, feudalism in society, special privileges for the favoured few, oppression and misery for the masses." Things stood as in the old time. There was hardly any middle class, only nobles on the one

Nobles and Serfs.

hand, serfs and poor peasants on the other. Some of the serfs had to give half their labour and more than half their crops to the nobles who owned and controlled the land.

To the old system Metternich added a complete network of spies, a stricter check upon education and the press. New books, new science, and all that was connected with revolutionary ideas of liberty, reform, or parliaments, were to be rigorously kept out of Austria. The Metternich System.

Metternich was not satisfied with the conduct of Alexander, or of Frederick William, for in the earlier part of their reigns they had both shown some leaning towards Liberalism. Frederick William had promised Prussia a Parliament and Alexander had actually given a Parliament (or at least a House of Lords) to Poland. But in a few years after Waterloo, they both came over completely to Metternich's views.

N. Germany.

Under the blows of Napoleon, the immense mass of territories in Central Europe had been welded into four large states—Austria, Prussia, the Duchy of Warsaw, and the Confederation of the Rhine ; this last consisting mainly of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony (which Napoleon had made into kingdoms) and Hanover. The Liberals of Germany had begun to hope for a United Germany ; but the Confederation set up by the Congress of Vienna disappointed their hopes. Some hundreds of German students indeed set to work to form a Students' Union of all the German States. They held a festival at Wartburg, where many speeches were made and much beer was drunk. There was a bonfire too, and into it there went some Royalist books, a pigtail, a strait-waistcoat, and a corporal's cane—these last standing for the stiff and brutal army methods of the day. Napoleonic Germany. The Wartburg Festival, 1817.

This alarmed Frederick William, Alexander, and Metternich ; or at least Metternich said he was alarmed, though possibly his chief desire was to stir alarm in the others. A more serious thing followed—the murder of a writer who was thought to be a Russian spy in Germany, and was in fact something of the kind. The murderer was Murder of Kotzebue, 1819.

a young German student, who went to the scaffold declaring that he had acted for the hope and sake of freedom in Germany.

There was no longer any fear of Liberalism from Alexander or Frederick William after this. Metternich got the Diet, which was the only body that acted for the whole Confederation, to pass what have been called the Carlsbad Decrees. These declared against Parliaments—a "foreign idea"; appointed agents to watch over schools and colleges to guard against any Liberal notions entering them; forbade students' unions; and appointed more agents to watch the press and to arrest any one who might be suspected of "Liberalism."

Carlsbad Decrees.

The Metternich system was now well established over Central Europe. We have come to the year 1820, when the revolution in Spain broke out. We must turn to Italy, for there also, and about the same time, there were revolutions, and, as in Spain, they were put down by invading armies.

Italy, like Prussia, had been promised Parliaments. Ferdinand of Sicily, under English pressure, had promised a Constitution, and even Austria herself had made a similar promise. Moreover, a great deal of Italy had come under French rule during the Revolution, and the French had undoubtedly made great improvements in the government. In particular, Sardinia in the north and Naples in the south had been touched (Metternich would have said "poisoned") by Revolutionary ideas and practice. And to these very States there returned in 1815, two of the most reactionary men of the age, the Bourbon Ferdinand I. of Naples (or the Two Sicilies) and Victor Emmanuel I. of Sardinia. Ferdinand was cruel, ignorant, and treacherous. He brought to South Italy the evils of the old days, and none of the good. Victor Emmanuel was less brutal but quite as stupid. He abolished gas lighting in Turin. The same thing was done in the Papal States, and for the same reason—it had been introduced by the revolutionary French. Victor Emmanuel had the French plants of the Botanic Gardens torn up, the French furniture in his

Italy.

French Ideas.

Ferdinand I. and Emmanuel I.

palace destroyed. These were childish deeds, but they were a sign of hopeless ideas of governing a country. No freedom of speech or of the press was permitted—and this was true of all Italy. Those who were against the Governments had to act secretly, and secret societies sprang up. The most famous was called the Carbonari (Charcoal burners). Reformers and Republicans of all kinds and of all ranks joined it. Carbonari.

When the news of the Spanish Revolution came to Italy, there was a rising at once in the kingdom of Naples; and as in Spain, it was in the army that the outbreak first showed itself. Ferdinand made an effort to win over the leaders by bribes. This failing, he agreed to the demands of the mutineers, and that was for a Constitution, a Parliament. He pretended to be ill—he was seventy years old. But when he took an oath in the royal chapel at Naples the onlookers thought him remarkably healthy and vigorous. He added before the altar, a solemn wish that God would destroy him if he did not keep his oath. Almost immediately afterwards he wrote to Austria to say that his oath did not bind him. Before his messenger reached Vienna, he was joking with the Court jester—Ferdinand was the last of the kings who kept a professional fool at Court. 1820. Naples Revolt.

A Congress was called to deal with this resurrection of the revolutionary idea. Plainly, if it had been buried at Vienna in 1815, it had been buried alive. Already there had been a Conference where the Five Powers agreed that the treaties must be respected. But at the new Conference Metternich's "right of intervention" plan, a much more practical thing, was put on the table. It was that the Powers should pledge themselves to step in wherever a revolution upset a Government that the Congress of Vienna had put up. Castlereagh thought that Austria had a right to interfere at Naples, but a general claim to interfere was too much for England. France also disliked seeing Austria control Italy, where recently France had dominated. Only Russia, Austria, and Prussia signed the new agreement; Britain and France stood aside. But Troppau Conference. 1820. Aix-la-Chapelle. 1818.

Laybach. 1821.

the European Concert was not yet definitely broken. Another Conference followed, to which Ferdinand of Naples was invited. By this time there was a Parliament sitting

in Naples, and the king had some difficulty in getting away. However, he explained that he wanted to go to ask the Powers to agree to the new Constitution.

Ferdinand's Promises.

Ferdinand had not left Italy before he wrote to each

of the five monarchs, saying that his promises had been forced from him and were of no account (which indeed was quite true). He asked to be set up as a despotic king once more. His very protectors were disgusted with him, but for all that he stood for kingship against revolution, and an Austrian army was sent to restore him and to abolish the Parliament at Naples. Alexander gave Ferdinand a present of some bears, but what the bears were for no one ever knew.

The Austrian army had an easy task in restoring Ferdinand; and immediately the king set about the work of revenge. Scores were put to death, hundreds fled—to England chiefly—and hundreds were imprisoned. Many never left the prisons alive. 1821.

While these things were happening in Naples, a revolution broke out in Piedmont (Sardinia). Here the demand was not only for a Constitution, but also for war on Austria. The King of Sardinia, torn between fear of the revolutionists and fear of Austria, surrendered the crown to his absent brother, Charles Felix. Another brother, Charles Albert, became Regent, and a Constitution was proclaimed. An Austrian army met the revolutionaries at Novara and completely defeated them. The new King Charles Felix took his throne as an absolute monarch. So ended the first attempt at Italian Constitutions. Piedmont Revolt. Novara, 1821.

We have already seen how the Bourbons of France restored the Bourbon Ferdinand of Spain to his full powers. At another Congress France was empowered to do the work in the name of the Powers. One Power, however, stood out—Britain. She was moving away from the allied monarchs, as they marched step by step to their goal of Absolutism, and she towards hers, which was plainly, as we see it now, though it was less clear then, complete Parliamentarism. Against the excesses of democracy Britain fought heartily enough by the side of the Allies, though neither she nor they could always see clearly what were and what were not excesses. But the Continental Monarchs held all democracy to be of its nature evil, and England could not do that in the face of 1689. The Verona, 1822. Britain and the Holy Alliance.

The British Constitution.

English Crown stood upon a Constitution. There were signed compacts between the Crown and the Nation. William III., Mary II., Anne, and their successors reigned by agreement with the Parliament of the nation, not by divine right. However reactionary, Royalist, Tory, the British Government might be, this one difference cut Britain apart from the Bourbons and Hapsburgs, from Russia and Prussia.

The Balkans.

Meanwhile there had been movements in the Balkans. Here the problems were simple ones of race and religion, and no discussions about absolutism or constitutions came in, except as secondary ideas. There was foreign rule as in Italy; but in the Balkans the ruling foreigners were utterly different from the conquered races in religion, customs, language, ideas. The conquering and ruling

The Turks.

Turks governed an empire stretching from Bosnia to Bagdad, from Arabia to Algiers. The Greeks, Serbs, Bulgars, and Rumanians of the Peninsula were, like the Russians, Christians of the Greek Church. The conquering Muhammadan Turks did not interfere with their religion as a rule: they were enslaved races, and the master need not trouble himself with the religion of his slaves. They must pay their taxes and keep quiet.

Serbia. (1804.) 1817.

The Serbs were the first to revolt, and they gained partial independence under Black George (Karageorge). But it was the rising of the Greeks that drew the attention

Greece.

of Europe. Conquered by Romans, Goths, Venetians, Turks, broken into parts and parties bitterly hating each other, Greece yet roused herself, recalled her ancient

War of Independence. 1821.

glories, and prepared for a struggle. Her people had ceased to call themselves Romans, as they had done since the days of the Roman Empire. They took the ancient name of Hellenes. As in Italy, secret societies sprang up.

Hetairia Philike.

The greatest was the Society of Comrades, warmly supported by Alexander of Russia, for the tie of religion between Russia and the Balkan States had been strong for centuries.

Atrocities.

From the beginning of the war, Europe rang with stories of terrible atrocities committed by Turks and by Greeks.

Many of the Greek leaders were mere brigands; and neither side spared men, women, or children when a town was taken. The Turks seized the island of Chios, killed nearly half the inhabitants and made slaves of the rest. The Greeks murdered every Muhammadan they could find in the Morea. Treachery and torture were common incidents of the war, and on both sides. 1822.

Turkey called for help from Egypt, her vassal state; and the army of Ibrahim, the son of Mehemet Ali of Egypt, swept the Morea. Missolonghi, heroically defended for a year among all the horrors of starvation, fell to the Turks. It was here that Byron had died of fever, earlier in the war. He was but one of the many lovers of liberty who came from every part of Europe, and from the United States, to strike a blow for Greek independence. Egypt and Mehemet Ali. 1826. 1824.

Metternich set his face against any interference. The Greeks were revolutionists, like any others, rebelling against their lawful ruler; a few hundred thousand people murdered were of no account to Europe, for the Balkans were "beyond the pale of civilisation." But other Powers were less cool-blooded. Alexander's sympathies, Russia's sympathies, were with the Greek Christians. The French Royalists remembered their ancestors, who marched under the Cross against the Crescent. Britain was for an independent Greece, and feared that Russia might interfere alone, and establish herself at Constantinople. In the midst of this, Alexander I. died, and was succeeded by Nicholas I. A Treaty of London was drawn up, by which England, Russia, and France agreed to demand from the Sultan that Greece should become a self-governing State under Turkey. The fleets of the Allies gathered at Navarino, where the Turkish-Egyptian fleet lay. A battle began almost by accident, and the Turkish fleet was destroyed. But Canning had died two months earlier, and his successor, the Duke of Wellington, thought the battle a mistake, "an untoward event." Britain withdrew from the whole business. The Powers and Greece. 1825. 1827. Navarino. 1827.

The war had shown Turkey's weakness. Mahmoud began to reorganise his army, and this brought about a Turkish War.

revolt of the Janissaries, a corps with special privileges that had for some time threatened the throne itself. The
1827. Janissaries were utterly destroyed, and a new army was formed. It was soon to be used; for Mahmoud declared a Holy War. Russia and France took up the challenge. A French force invaded the Morea and drove out the
1828. Egyptian army. The Russians, after losing heavily at the siege of Varna, advanced to Adrianople, and there
Treaty of Adrianople, 1829. a Treaty was signed. Under its terms Greece became an independent country, under the guarantee of Russia, France, and Britain; Rumania obtained self-government, and Russia gained two ports on the Black Sea. The new
A new Greece. (1833.) kingdom of Greece began its career under a boy king, Otto of Bavaria, after four years of confusion and disorder.

Now we are on the threshold of 1830. One series of revolutions is ended; another is preparing. For the Settlement of the Powers at Vienna unsettled the nations of Europe while it settled monarchs on the thrones of their fathers. From 1820 to 1848, the history of Europe is largely a repetition of this story—repression, revolt, repression, revolution.

Russia. Russia in 1815 was a land of about 45 million people. In 1915 it had become a land of about 145 millions. They were not, and are not, people of one race or one language (in 1914, newspapers were printed in Russia in twenty different languages), but neither was the mixture so varied as in Austria, although the chief tie that held together the different peoples was, as in Austria, an autocratic ruler.

The Russians. The vast majority of these people were serfs: poor uneducated, very simple and very kindly in their ways, heavily taxed, suffering often from hunger, dying of sheer starvation after bad harvests, and living always under the threat of the whip. They were, and are, a religious people, and their priests ("popes" of the Greek Christian Church) were of their own class, often as poor as themselves. Above them were the land-owning nobles, about one-hundredth part of the whole nation, and a group of

officials, police, and officers of the army, at whose head stood the Tsar.

Alexander I. began by trying to bring the modern and liberal ideas that he had learned in his youth, into this great scattered mass. But the vast plain that covers Russia made it impossible in those days of bad roads, no railways, no telegraphs, for any one to govern its whole extent properly from any single town. Perhaps Alexander, in any case, would have given up the hopeless task of modernising Russia as well as governing it. But before he dropped his liberal plans, and became simply an absolute Tsar, he made some notable efforts. Alexander I.

Russia had recently taken Finland from Sweden; and Alexander let the Finns keep their own Parliament, laws, language, and their whole system complete. It was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that Finland was interfered with to any great extent. Finland. 1809. (1908–10.)

To the new province of Poland, Alexander gave a generous measure of self-government, if we judge it, in the only fair way, by the condition of the rest of Central Europe. The Poles were not content, for from being an independent nation they had now become fragments under the rule of Prussians, Austrians, and Russians. The bulk of the people had recently been freed from serfdom, but in gaining their freedom they had lost all claim upon the land, and were desperately poor. Many drifted into the new factories that began to be established in the towns. There were large numbers of Jews, centred mostly in the towns, and engaged in trading. The nobles, hopelessly separated from the rest of the nation, often hindered the national cause by their selfishness, as they had done in the days of John Sobieski, the Polish hero-king who drove back the Turks from the gates of Vienna. Nor were matters made any better when the Tsar sent his brother Constantine to rule in Poland. There were conspiracies and plots, which the Russian soldiers dealt with mercilessly. Poland was ripening for rebellion, a thing that seemed strange to many Russians, for they quite naturally pointed out that the Poles had a Constitution of their own, a share Poland. The Poles. (1807.) (1683.)

in the government of their country, which was more than Russians could say of themselves. But the Poles had been free, and were now a subject nation. Their share in governing their country had become a matter of words when Nicholas I. became Tsar—so much a matter of words, that Nicholas, who was not troubled by any liberal ideas whatever, did not think it worth while to take away the nominal Constitution which his brother had left in Russian Poland. But it was not to remain long.

Nicholas I. 1825.

CHAPTER VII

WESTERN EUROPE, 1828–1837

CHARLES X. of France had begun his reign by declaring for the Charter and setting free the Press, so that there were great Liberal rejoicings. But this was a mere flash. Charles, who was now a man of sixty-seven, was not likely to change the ideas of a lifetime, and those ideas were three hundred years behind anything that could be called "Liberalism." Moreover, he was surrounded by a group of fanatical Royalists and Clericals whose natural leader he was, and half-victories would not content them nor him. He would rather be a wood-cutter, he said, than a king of the English sort. Charles X. 1824–30.

A Bill was put through the Chamber with some opposition, to compensate the nobles who had lost their lands at the Revolution thirty-six years before. Charles called it, with some truth, an act of justice; and the Liberals as truly said that nobles were to be rewarded for deserting France to join her enemies. The sum was large, but annual payments were arranged for, and most of the cost was saved by reducing the interest on the national debt from five to three per cent. The taxpayers escaped, and the nobles gained at the expense of bankers, capitalists, and all who had invested money with the State. To their complaints were added those of the officers of Napoleon's old army, for nearly all of them were dismissed, though the act robbed the army of nearly every officer of distinction. The *Emigrés*. 1825.

The growing power of the Church under the new king was not always wisely used. The old law against sacrilege for example was revived, by which robbing a church was The Church.

made punishable by death or cutting off a hand. The law was never used, and the Church would have been wiser to oppose it than to press it forward. The control of schools and universities by the Church, and the dismissal of professors suspected of Liberalism, were not to be accepted as quietly in Paris as in Vienna.

The Chamber. The Chamber of Peers was at this time far less extreme than the Lower Chamber. Two measures which passed in the Chamber of Deputies were thrown out by the Peers —one, an attempt to encourage primogeniture, and the other, to establish a strict censorship of the Press. Immediately afterwards the National Guard cheered for the Charter, and was disbanded.

Villèle. Villèle, the Premier, decided on securing both Chambers for Church and king. He advised the creation of nearly seventy new peers, and a new election for the Deputies. It was his last mistake. The elections went very heavily against him, and his Ministry fell. The new Chamber was more liberal, though not Liberal, and Charles seized the

Polignac. first opportunity to be rid of it. Polignac's ultra-Royalist Ministry which now came in, pleased him better. But it was so extreme that even Metternich shook his head. There was soon to be a more serious shaking. A new election only increased the liberal parties in the Chamber. Both Alexander I. and Metternich advised Charles to dismiss Polignac, but Charles had the courage of his convictions. He stood by his guns, obsolete though they were.

The July Ordinances, 1830. The crisis came swiftly. In July 1830 Charles issued what have been called the July Ordinances. By these, the Press was put entirely under Government control ; the newly elected Chamber was dissolved before it had met ; and the franchise was altered so that the number of voters, already very small for a country like France, was reduced to about 25,000, chiefly nobles and land-owners. Under these arrangements a new election was to be held. This was to ask for trouble, as every one but Charles and Polignac and their few fanatical followers, could see. At last, these told Charles, he was really king. But this reality of kingship was very brief. Crowds filled the streets of

Paris, cheering for the Charter. Street fighting began between the army and the people. Barricades sprang up. After two days' fighting Charles withdrew the Ordinances —two days too late. A group of politicians brought forward another king, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, of the younger line of the Bourbons. He was offered as a Citizen king who had fought under the tricolour, who would accept and abide by the Charter. Louis Philippe, wearing the tricolour, appeared in public with Lafayette, who had fought in America. Charles abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Chambord, but for this also it was too late. Charles and his family retired to Holyrood, and afterwards to Austria.

The July Revolution, 1830.

The Citizen King.

So suddenly, so easily, was the revolution accomplished. The old Bourbon idea of government in France was dead. The tricolour flew in the place of the royal standard. Metternich disliked a king made by a revolution. He called Louis Philippe a "King of the Barricades." Some of the Powers would have liked to interfere, but the task of forcing Charles X. upon an unwilling French nation was not likely to be an easy one; and very soon the Powers had tasks of their own to do.

Louis Philippe was put on the throne not by the French people but by a group of middle-class wealthy Parisians. The Republicans, the Buonapartists, and the "Legitimists" (who were for Charles X. or his grandson "Henry V.") were all disappointed. The supporters of Louis issued a proclamation, declaring that Charles X. could not be restored, as he had shed French blood; that a Republic would be attacked by the Powers; that the Duke of Orleans (Louis Philippe) was devoted to the Revolution, was a Citizen king, would restore the tricolour, and would accept the Charter.

The *Bourgeoisie*.

The Charter of 1814 signed by Louis Philippe, was altered for this purpose. Louis was to be king of the French, not King of France. He did not take the title of Louis XIV. or Philip VII. He was king "by the grace of God and the will of the people." The tricolour was to be the French flag. The Catholic religion was declared

The Charter in 1830.

to be "the religion professed by the majority of the French," instead of "the religion of France," as in 1814. The number of voters was slightly raised. There were to be 180,000 voters out of 30 million Frenchmen instead of 100,000 voters out of 29 millions—not a great move towards democracy. The censorship of the Press was never to be restored; but this article was broken very early in the reign.

The Revolution of July gave the Church-and-King party in France a blow from which it has never completely recovered. It satisfied the wealthy men of business and those who held or hoped to hold official posts; about half the new Chamber consisted of officials. It disappointed those who wanted a Republic, and those who wanted to see more power in the hands of the working class. There was a Republican rising in Paris at the beginning of the reign, with furious combats in the streets of Paris, where sixty thousand troops fought a hundred thousand revolutionaries from barricade to barricade, from house to house. The rising was suppressed, and severe punishments followed; but French Republicanism was only crushed for the time. French Royalism, meanwhile, made a last effort in the west, in La Vendée, where the Duchess of Berri conducted a short and romantic campaign on behalf of her son, "Henry V."

Republican Discontent, 1832.

Royalist Discontent.

1832.

The government of the Citizen king showed itself to be as capable of suppressing revolts, and as incapable of removing the causes of discontent, as that of any Bourbon or Hapsburg. The men who formed the Government, or who supported it, seemed to say to France, "We are now quite satisfied and comfortable. Those who are dissatisfied are public enemies, and will be prosecuted." Prosecuted they were, and not quite according to the law or the Charter. Hundreds of journalists were brought to trial for criticising the Government. One newspaper was fined over a hundred times in four years.

The July Monarchy.

Meanwhile, France was passing through the horrors of her industrial revolution. Unemployment, distress, and that life-poverty that the French call *la misère*, seemed

French Industrial Revolution.

to have the whole country bound. The average wages in Paris stood at about ten shillings a week for men, and about six shillings for women. The law forbade trade unions, as earlier in England, and the heirs of the Revolution saw growing up a body of wealthy employers and a mass of impoverished workers. At a great strike in Lyons, the workmen carried a banner bearing the words, "Live working or die fighting" (*Vivre en travaillant ou mourir en combattant*). These men, silk-weavers, worked eighteen hours a day, and were paid a halfpenny an hour.

(1800–1825.)

Lyons Strike. 1831.

Men began to ask each other what was the use of spilling so much blood in 1789 to establish Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, if they were only to be brothers, only equal in having equal liberty with each other to starve by inches. Another revolution was needed, it was said, not against Birth this time but against Wealth, not against the nobles but against the capitalists, the *bourgeoisie*. A fiery writer, Louis Blanc, set up the cry of the "Right to Work." "Free competition," he said, "had failed to give the workmen any certainty of employment. What it could not do, the State must do." The Lyons strikers had won part of their demands when they struck, and at once they formed themselves into a powerful body. Three years later there was another outbreak, when there was a four days' battle in the streets. The strikers were defeated, their leaders imprisoned, their society broken up. But they had shaken the Government.

Labour Discontent.

The "Right to Work."

1834.

Meanwhile, a distraction was sought in foreign conquest. The occupation of Algiers was pushed on, and the capture of Constantine settled France firmly in North Africa.

The news of the July Revolution came to Brussels like a match to a barrel of gunpowder, and the flash lit up a new kingdom—Belgium. But fifteen years had gone to the making of the gunpowder. The Belgians after long periods of subjection, first under Spain, then under Austria, had dreamt, in 1815, of something like independence. They found themselves not only linked with but put under a country smaller than their own, and different in language

Belgium.

Dutch and Belgians.

and religion. William of Holland had an earnest and honest wish to make the two countries into one, but it seemed to the Belgians that by the one he meant Holland.

There had been friction from the very start; and William's moves seemed to the Belgians to have the intention of turning them into Dutch-speaking Protestants. Though they had prospered during the Union, they felt themselves under a yoke. When they desired one thing and the Dutch another, William would arbitrarily decide against them.

Revolt in Brussels, 1830.

To such a people came the news of the Revolution in Paris. The opera *Masaniello*, or *La Muette*, was being performed at Brussels. It deals with a revolt at Naples. At the words of one of the songs, "To my country I owe my life, To me shall she owe her liberty" the whole audience rose. The people rushed into the streets, making for the gun-shops. The townsfolk rose in excitement. The tricolour appeared, soon replaced by the old banner of Brabant, red, yellow, and black. The Belgian Revolution had begun.

The Journalists.

Journalists and politicians, and men who were both, played a great part in the risings at Paris and at Brussels. Guizot and Thiers in France, Louis de Potter in Belgium, were the chief scribes of 1830. Potter was in exile when the Revolution broke out—he had already been imprisoned many times. He returned after the first phase of the fighting, and was welcomed as a deliverer. His wish to see himself at the head of the Belgium Republic, however, found little response, and he left the country.

Dutch-Belgian War.

Meanwhile, a Dutch army under the Prince of Orange, the son of William I., entered Brussels. There were negotiations, followed by street fighting, and the army withdrew. The Dutch soldiers were swept out of Flanders, excepting only Antwerp. A force from France and a curious irregular force from Britain joined the revolutionaries in a march on Antwerp. The townsfolk opened the gates, and the Dutch garrison was besieged in the citadel, while a Dutch fleet bombarded the town. Jenneval, the writer of the *Brabançonne*, was killed in the fighting there.

A Conference at London drew up Articles of Agreement, which were formed into a Treaty guaranteeing the independence and neutrality of Belgium. This was signed by the representatives of the Powers, and it was again confirmed by Britain, France, and Prussia in 1870. In 1914 it became famous as a "scrap of paper." Belgium was made a constitutional monarchy, with Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as its first King. Leopold's elder sister, Victoria, married the Duke of Kent, and their daughter, Victoria, was afterwards Queen. She in turn married Albert, whose father was Leopold's eldest brother. Thus Leopold was uncle to Victoria and to Albert. For many years he spent rather large sums on the young Victoria's education. In a letter to her he describes her as "a little white slave." In the next year she became Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

London Conference, 1830.

1831, 1832.

The "Scrap of Paper."

1836.

1837.

The Swiss call this period the time of their regeneration. Democratic parties appeared, and the usual demands were made for universal suffrage, equality of rights, and liberty of the Press. Many of the cantons re-arranged their governments in accordance with these demands. Seven of the "Liberal" cantons formed a definite League. Against this, a Catholic peasant party was formed. There were all the possibilities of a civil war.

Switzerland. 1829–37.

1832.

The unhappy Peninsula, meanwhile, had entered upon a period of civil war, disorder, and unrest. Both in Spain and Portugal there were young queens, and in each case an uncle of the queen claimed the throne. There resulted, especially in the case of Spain, a period like that of the Wars of the Roses in England.

The Peninsula. Civil Wars.

When John VI. of Portugal died, his son Pedro had to choose between Brazil and Portugal, for Brazil was determined to be a "colony" no longer. He chose Brazil, resigning Portugal to his infant daughter (Maria II.), and appointed his brother Miguel as Regent. Miguel, however, claimed the throne. We have seen that Canning sent an army to support the Parliamentarians against Miguel. Maria was still in Brazil. Miguel accepted the Regency, but when the British troops were recalled by Wellington, who disliked Canning's policy, Miguel seized the throne,

Portugal, 1826.

1828.

and a persecution of the Liberals followed. A little later, Britain and France sent fleets against Miguel, because of attacks made on the British and French residents in Portugal. Pedro, meanwhile, finding his throne in Brazil somewhat shaky, came to England, where he was permitted to raise a small fleet and army. After a war of two years, on land and sea, Pedro and the "Constitutionalists" overpowered Miguel. The two absolutist claimants joined forces when Miguel allied himself with the Spanish "wicked uncle," Don Carlos. But when France and Britain joined the Governments of Spain and Portugal in a Quadruple Alliance against Carlos and Miguel, the latter accepted a pension and withdrew. Maria II. now seemed firmly seated on her throne, but her whole reign was filled with disturbances. There was no very serious outbreak, but there was little in the way of good government. Ambitious men strove for power, officers of the army plotted against each other, and wise citizens shrugged their shoulders and attended to their own affairs.

1831.

SPAIN, 1830.

When Ferdinand VII. declared his infant daughter as his successor, he broke a fixed and ancient custom in Spain, that sons only could inherit the throne. Upon Ferdinand's death, Isabella was declared Queen of Spain, her mother Christina acting as Regent. Two strong parties were formed: the Christinos, supporting Isabella and Christina, and the Carlists, supporting the claims of Don Carlos, the brother of Ferdinand.

The struggle was at first chiefly a political one, changing later into a civil war. It is interesting to notice how the Spanish people divided. The Church party, many of the army officers, and the Basques supported Carlos.

The Basques.

These Basques, living along the Bay of Biscay, are descended from the oldest race of men in the Peninsula. They speak several varieties of a very old and very difficult language. Fishermen, sailors, mountaineers, they are independent, and quick to fight for their liberties. At this time they governed themselves, paying no taxes to Spain, not being liable to be called on for military service, and not having any of the heavy Spanish duties

on imports. Many of them made a profitable livelihood by smuggling goods into the rest of Spain, which they imported duty free from France. When the Spanish Cortes attempted to bring them more completely under the rule of Madrid, the Basques rose in revolt, and became enthusiastic Carlists. It was not until much later that the Basque country was brought into the Spanish system, and even to-day they hold some of their ancient rights of government, and some special favours in the way of taxation. The people of Navarre, in the north-east, were in somewhat the same position as the Basques.

1832.

1876.

The Carlist War broke out in the north-west, and it ravaged Spain for five years. It was a mountain warfare of "guerilla" bands against the regular troops of the Government (*guerilla* simply means "little war"). There was a great deal of cruelty on both sides, murders of prisoners, and even torture. A British legion and a French legion came to the help of the Christinos, and the Continental monarchs sent men, arms, and money to Carlos. But Carlos was a poor soldier and the priests who advised him were worse. The bravery and dash of the Basques was never directed to anything decisive, and nothing came of the long string of battles and skirmishes.

Carlist War. 1834–39.

Affairs in Spain and Portugal at this time are curiously alike. The chief differences are in the build of the country. Spain is divided very sharply by high mountain ranges into quite separate districts, so that the people round Barcelona, Seville, Madrid are different from each other, or from those in Navarre or the Biscay coast; and communications are difficult. Portugal, by its shape and position, is less closed against news of the outside world, and the peasants here did not object so strongly to "new-fangled foreign things" like policemen and education. For the present we leave them both, in name at least, Constitutional Monarchies.

Spain and Portugal. A Contrast.

1837.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BRITISH ISLES AND BRITISH EMPIRE, 1828–1837

Reform

Parties. THE course of events in Britain from 1815 to 1828 can be marked into three periods :—

1815–22. A—Seven years of repressive Government.

1822–27. B—Five years of Reform.

1828–30. C—A return to a Conservative Government, but of a milder type than the first (A).

If we take this last as the beginning of a new series, we get again :—

1828–30. C—A Conservative period (Wellington).

1830–34. D—The Whig Reformers.

1834. E—A Conservative Ministry, and, as before, of a milder type than the last (C). For as Liverpool and Castlereagh were to Wellington, so was Wellington to Peel. Here, as always, we must be careful to remember that "Liberal," "Conservative," in different lands or at different times, do not stand for the same ideas or for the same actions.

India: Reform. In India also there came a "Reform period," partly as an echo of Canning's policy at home, and partly arising from movements in India itself. The East India Company, when its charter was renewed, just before (1813.) Waterloo, lost the monopoly of Indian trade; and at the next renewal, the China trade also was thrown 1833. open. The Company was ceasing to be a mere trader: it was becoming a Government.

1828–35. Between these renewals came the reforms of Governor-

General Lord William Bentinck, and it has been said that the new government of India, that is, government in the interests of the inhabitants, dates from his time. The words written by Lord Macaulay for Bentinck's statue at Calcutta are often quoted: "He abolished cruel rites; he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; his constant study was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge." But the change from the idea of exploiting India to the better idea of governing it for the advantage of its people was something more than the result of the character of one man. It meant a change in the ideas of British people and British Governments. Bentinck.

The "cruel rites" were *Sati* (or *Suttee*) and *Thagi* (*Thuggee*). *Sati* was the custom of widows burning themselves alive, as a religious duty. It had come into the Hindu religion by a blunder, but it had been made sacred by an age-long custom. Its abolition was opposed, not only by Hindus, but by many Europeans. The *Thags* were professional and hereditary stranglers or garrotters, worshippers of the goddess Kali, the Hindu representative of Mars. They were exterminated as the result of a dozen years' vigorous work, carried out under Captain Sleeman. *Sati*. 1829. *Thagi*. 1826–35.

The only territorial extensions of the period were those of Mysore and Coorg. Mysore returned later to native rule. Coorg, Lord William Bentinck's only annexation, was taken over because of "the unanimous wish of the people." There was a period of peace in India; but soon the rattle of musketry was to pass from Afghanistan to the Indus, and from the Indus to Delhi. 1834.

At home, Wellington's Ministry had to begin by turning its attention to Ireland. Daniel O'Connell defeated a Cabinet Minister at an election, in spite of the fact that the Minister was an Irish supporter of Catholic Emancipation, and in spite also of the fact that O'Connell, being a Catholic, could not sit in the House, whether he was elected or not. Ireland was becoming dangerous. Catholics and Protestants armed and drilled; many thought that civil war was certain. Perhaps it was only the moderation of IRELAND.

the leaders that prevented actual fighting. On the one hand, O'Connell asked the Irish Catholics to cease holding meetings, and the meetings ceased. On the other hand, Wellington advised the king and the bishops, who were the chief opponents of Catholic Emancipation, to accept it, in order to avoid a civil war in Ireland. The king agreed, recanted, and again agreed. The bishops would not yield, but the Bill was passed in spite of them. Catholics might now sit in Parliament, and all offices in Ireland except that of Lord Lieutenant were open to them. But, at the same time, nearly 200,000 Irishmen were deprived of their votes. Some of Wellington's followers denounced him as a traitor who was introducing popery, and the duke fought his one and only duel in reply.

Catholic Emancipation, 1829.

Movements of 1830.

With 1830 came another upheaval of peoples against Governments, and this time the Governments were less successful than in the 1820 disturbances. In France and in Belgium there were revolutions; in Poland another hopeless rising; in Britain a demand for the reform of Parliament. On this question Wellington was determined not to give way. The British Constitution, he said, was practically perfect. If he were to have the difficult task of creating a new Constitution, he could not hope to make at once so perfect a Government as that of Britain, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such perfection instantly, but he would try to make one that would produce the same results. This solemn speech helped to destroy the Wellington Ministry, and Earl Grey, a leader of the Reformers, came into office. Peel, who had stood by Wellington on the Catholic question, stood by him now in opposing Parliamentary Reform, though somewhat cautiously. Peel was as unpopular as Wellington just then, on account of the new (and certainly better) police force that he had formed. The new "Peelers" or "Bobbies," as they were irreverently named after Sir Robert Peel, were generally mistrusted and disliked. The "New Police" formed a part of Peel's reforming work. He had taken up the reform of the Criminal Law, which had been discussed by many men before him—notably by

Wellington on the Constitution, 1830.

New Police, 1829.

Romilly. Peel abolished the death-sentence for many offences, and reduced the sentences in other cases. Crime not only did not increase, but in fact diminished.

Events had now left Wellington's ideas with the ashes of yesterday, but Britain had by no means changed her Government into a democratic one. Earl Grey's Cabinet was very aristocratic — Melbourne, Russell, Graham, Durham, Stanley, Brougham, all of them men of title. But they were resolute to put through a reform of Parliament. The first Bill was defeated, and an election followed —the "Dry Election," so called because the public-houses did not play their usual active part. The new Parliament was elected on Lord John Russell's battle-cry, "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." Reform Bill. 1831.

The whole story of the struggle is a remarkable one. There was nearly a fight in the Lords and also in the Commons, at the dissolution of 1831. The king was hindered by his own attendants, on going to dissolve Parliament. After the election, the Bill took three months to reach the Lords, where it was rejected after five nights' debate. Twenty-one bishops and 178 lay peers voted against it; one bishop and 157 lay peers voted for it. Serious riots broke out. Nottingham Castle was burnt, Bristol fell into the hands of a mob, thousands of people declared that they would not pay any taxes till the Bill was passed. When the Bill was back in the Lords, the March following, rumours and counter rumours flew about: that the king would create new peers pledged to pass the Bill; that he dared not; that he had promised; and so on. Riots.

The Lords wavered, but finally rejected the Bill, and the king refused to make new peers. Wellington tried to form an anti-Reform Ministry, and failed. Peel stood aloof.

There were preparations for an armed rising, notably at Birmingham. The king at last agreed to create new peers, and the Bill went through the Lords on a majority of nine votes. Many opponents stayed away from the House. The chief part of the struggle was over, and the

Reform Acts that were passed shortly afterwards, for Scotland and for Ireland, attracted little notice.

Reform Act. 1832.

The Act took nearly 150 representatives from places of few inhabitants (or none at all) and gave them to the newly-grown towns. It extended the right of voting to town-dwellers paying £10 rent a year, and to country-dwellers paying £50 rent. That meant, allowing for the difference of the value of money between 1832 and 1919, that the majority of votes was now in the hands of the middle classes, but not yet in the hands of the working classes. There were probably more of the working classes that lost votes in 1832 than of those that gained them.

Franchise.

Reformed Parliament.

The first Reformed Parliament met in 1833, and at its opening a Quaker member who refused to take the usual oath, was not allowed to sit; but in a few days the Commons declared that he might "affirm" instead of taking the oath, and this was done. The difficulty came up again later, when Mr. Bradlaugh made objection to the oath, and was refused his seat; but the Affirmation Bill made the oath non-compulsory, and now in every new Parliament there are some members who "affirm" instead of taking the oath.

(1880.)

(1888.)

The New Liberals.

The Reformers, who now began definitely to take the name of Liberals, had an immense majority in the Commons—over three hundred. They remained in office, with one short break, until 1841. In the first three years of this period they passed four important measures: the abolition of slavery in the Colonies, an effective Factory Act, the new Poor Law Act, and a Reform Act for the government of towns.

Slavery.

The trade in slaves had been abolished in 1807, but there were three-quarters of a million slaves in the Colonies, mostly in the West Indies. The agitation for their freedom was carried on by Sir Thomas Buxton, Zachary Macaulay, Thomas Clarkson, and William Wilberforce. But the struggle goes back to the days of Fox, and as far back as 1772 Judge Mansfield had laid down the rule that a slave became free if he were

brought to England. The Act setting the slaves free was passed just before Wilberforce died. "Thank God," he said, "that I should live to witness the day in which England is willing to give twenty millions sterling for the abolition of slavery." The slave-owners were paid for their lost property, and the slaves were to continue as apprentices under their owners for five years. 1833.

Another group of men had been working to lessen the evils of factory life, especially among the child-workers —Lord Ashley (Shaftesbury), Robert Owen, Michael Sadler, Richard Oastler, John Fielden. The early Acts had proved useless, because there was no arrangement for seeing that the owners of factories obeyed them. A Parliamentary Report of a Committee under Michael Sadler shocked the whole country by the terrible picture it drew, and some manufacturers, who objected to any interference with the management of factories, became alarmed. The Act prohibited children under nine years of age from working in factories at all, and fixed nine hours a day as the maximum working time for children under eleven years, twelve hours a day for those under sixteen years; not a very terrible interference, as we think now. But the really important thing was that inspectors were appointed to see that the Act was obeyed. Factories. (1802.) (1819.) 1833.

The beginning of a system of anything like national or general education in England may be marked by the grant of £20,000 by the Government to two religious educational societies, towards the cost of building schools. The larger society, the National Society, represented the Church of England; the other, the British and Foreign Society, was Nonconformist. The great majority of English children at this time had little or no schooling (Scotland was better served). Such schools as were at all available for the children of the working class had been built and were carried on by the various churches of the country; and the money granted by the Government was intended to enable religious bodies to educate a larger number of children. There were not many who wished National Education. 1833.

Liberal and Tory Views.

to see the State take the control of education in its own hands. The Liberal reformers did not wish for that, because their chief idea was to leave as much as possible to be done by private enterprise, whether by single individuals or by private societies. Their Tory opponents did not wish it either, for they supported the Church, and the Church rightly feared that control gained by the State would be loss of power to the Church. Religious bodies of all kinds have always been very earnest in their desire to take charge of the education of children. But the State had now come in with gifts of money, and future years made it plain that more and more State money meant more and more State control. Education began to be the nation's business.

The "Trades Union."

About this time there was an extraordinary attempt made by workers throughout England and a great part of Scotland to form themselves into a great "Trades Union," all trades together; not at all the Trade Unions, or groups for different trades, that are common to-day.

1834.

"The Grand National Consolidated Trades Union" was largely the work of Robert Owen. It grew with wonderful rapidity, and few were able to foresee that it would decay as rapidly as it rose. Its great object was to secure a general strike in order to establish an eight-hour day with higher wages. The manufacturers were alarmed, and formed a league among themselves, to refuse employment to any workmen belonging to a union. There were strikes by workers, lock-outs by employers. The Government, as alarmed as the manufacturers, declared the unions to be illegal conspiracies. Six labourers in Dorsetshire who formed a little union or "Friendly Society of Farm Labourers," to try to get their wages put back again to ten shillings a week (they had been lowered to seven shillings), were sentenced to seven years' transportation, and actually served two years in Australia as convicts.

The Dorsetshire Labourers. 1834.

Poor Law.

A Parliamentary Committee issued a Report on the Poor Law that has since become famous. As in the case of the factories, it was the abuses described that attracted most attention. The Report laid down two rules for the

guidance of Parliament: that a pauper ought to be made rather worse off than "an independent labourer of the same class," and that people should not be helped by the Poor Law unless they were destitute, which would be proved by their willingness to go into a workhouse. These were called the principles of "less eligibility" and of "destitution." The new Poor Law Act followed on these lines, and it was put into the hands of three Commissioners who became known as the "Three Icicles," and by other unpleasant names. Union workhouses were formed, that is, large workhouses belonging to a union of parishes.

Principles.

Poor Law Act, 1834.

The difficulties were by no means settled. The "independent labourers" were often so badly off that paupers could hardly be made worse off by any means, except downright cruelty or starvation; and to wait until people were really destitute before helping them, often meant waiting till they sank so low that it was almost impossible that they should ever again become useful citizens. The whole question came up again in 1909, when another Commission issued two very remarkable Reports; but no Act of Parliament followed, though there was a great deal of discussion in the country.

(1909 Reports.)

The Municipal Reform Act did for towns what the great Reform Act had done for the country; it put a new machine in the place of an old and rather worn-out one. Here again there was a Parliamentary enquiry and a report. It was found that many towns were in the hands of a group of men, often acting secretly, who used their position for their own profit. Towns were "governed" in all kinds of curious ways: some well, some badly, some amazingly badly. Once again, it was the abuse, the bad case, that people noticed most, for the good examples (like people who are "good examples") were not so exciting as the bad ones. The new Act gave ratepayers the power of electing a little Parliament for their own town—a Council; and the Council was not allowed to do its work in secret. The reform of London government did not come until later when the Metropolitan Board of Works was formed.

Towns.

Municipal Reform Act. 1835.

(1855.)

(1888.) This in turn gave way to the London County Council, thirty years later still.

The Industrial Revolution.

These were great and rapid changes. In a few years Britain had revolutionised some of the most important things in the lives of her citizens; and the work was done with very little violence, except in the way of language, which was often violent enough. Meanwhile, the great changes of the Industrial Revolution went on. The word "revolution" is in some ways misleading. What happened after about 1760 was a series of rapid changes in the methods of producing things. These changes, on the whole, produced goods at a faster rate, and produced them more cheaply; some people profited in every way, but very many, and these among the poorest class, lost far more in health and comfort than they ever gained by the extra cheapness. Steam-engines had come into common use, and the great inventions in spinning, weaving, iron-smelting, steel-making, had now been made. Britain had the advantage of being first in the field in the new developments, and her exports increased by forty per cent between 1828 and 1837, while her population only increased by twelve per cent. Meanwhile, the price of wheat continued to fall, though with violent fluctuations.

Railways.

1830.

But the most remarkable of all the changes of this time was in railways. The opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway was followed by the formation of many Railway Companies, mostly for short lines. These were gathered, later on, into a few large companies. It was the aim of Parliament to encourage as much railway competition as possible, and for a while competition was secured, though the plan proved to be in many ways very wasteful. The original idea that the companies had, was that they would be the owners of the road, while most of the users of it would supply their own carriages, and even their own engines. They judged by the way that roads and canals were used. But things have turned out quite differently.

Steamships had come into use early in the century,

and already the Atlantic had been crossed by a steamer, 1819.
though she used sails as well as steam.

We may end this chapter by outlining the chief reasons Industrial Revolution: Causes.
why the Industrial Revolution, or whatever else the great industrial change may be called, was first developed in Britain. It seems likely that the Industrial Revolution was in itself caused by increased commerce, and Britain, with her long sea-coast, her many harbours, her colonies, her internal free trade, her security against invasion, had already become a great and growing commercial nation. The growth of commerce prepared the way for "production on a large scale for a world-market," and something like a world-market was already open. The carriage of goods in England was comparatively easy, by reason of the many navigable rivers, the absence of hindering mountain masses, and the important fact that, very early in her history, England was free from the network of duties and tolls that hindered Continental trade for many centuries. It is still a common thing on the Continent for the country folk to pay a duty on the goods they carry into a town to sell. Moreover, in the eighteenth century the roads were greatly improved, and Macadam's new plan was used widely in the 1820's and 1830's. Toll-gates round London were removed. Altogether, the hindrances 1827.
to trade were few in England, and the way to trade outside the country was open to an island people.

There was also a supply of free labour for the new Free Labour.
factories, due to the fact that serfs disappeared early in this country. Here was something not altogether good, for when the serfs were freed they usually lost their claim upon the land. They gained liberty, but often they lost security and had only their labour to sell. We may add also that the comparative freedom from revolution and change in Britain gave security to trade. The people, too, were of an enterprising nature, and whether that was due to the climate, or to the conditions under which they lived, or whether it was part of their very nature, does not matter much. The enterprise was there, and it had a great deal to do with Britain's rapid development.

Coal and Iron. Lastly, there were supplies of easily-worked coal to be had, conveniently placed for carriage by water ; and with or near the coal, abundance of iron ore. This was a tremendous advantage when machines, engines, and then ships, began to be made of iron. The old machines were chiefly made of wood, but wood was not strong enough for the new steam-driven engines. For the new manufactures, coal and iron were essential.

CHAPTER IX

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE, 1828–1837

Prussia and Austria.

An important part of the story of Central Europe in modern times is the struggle for leadership between Austria and Prussia. It was still possible, in 1815, to think that if a great German State grew up between the Slavs of the east and the French of the west, its centre would be at Vienna. But Austria tried to hold too much in the south and east to be able to give such attention to purely German affairs as Prussia was able and willing to give. For a long time after Austria was still in name the leader and chief of the German states, Prussia was the leader in reality. Prince von Bulow, who held the office of German Chancellor, the highest in the State, called Prussia "this rude and thoroughly prosaic State of soldiers and officials," and it was by her system of soldiers and her system of officials that she made herself mistress in Central Europe.

Prussian Reforms. Commerce.

Germany's unity was completed by soldiers, but it was begun by officials. Shortly after Waterloo a system of free trade was established inside all Prussian territories —a change that we cannot properly understand unless we think of the scores of little German states which had for centuries levied different sets of taxes on everything that crossed their amazing network of frontiers. Napoleon had cleared away many ancient hindrances in Germany, and Prussia was too shrewd to set them all up again. She encouraged imports, too, by what was then the remarkably low duty of ten per cent. At the same time, she took care that the duties were thoroughly and carefully collected: the Prussian makes an excellent official.

Land. (1807.)

Prussia was freeing her serfs, also, at a rapid rate, but this she had begun to do rather earlier. At the same time, much of the land was free. Under the old system, land that had once belonged to a noble could only be bought by a noble, for the land itself was "ennobled." The removal of such an absurd custom as this gives us a sudden vision of the difference between old and new Europe, and makes us think of the realities that lay behind the demand of the French revolutionaries to make every one equal before the law.

Swift Changes.

Changes like these meant that Prussia was passing out of the Middle Ages into modern times, and at a very rapid rate. Since then we have seen another country, Japan, make a similar but far greater change, and in a shorter time. When some countries have gone through great changes, often with much loss and effort, and very slowly, they make it possible for others to follow them at what seems by comparison a breathless speed. But only those who are stirred to great effort can so follow, even when the road has been cut. Prussia had a great end in view —to make herself the leading State of Central Europe, the chief of the German states. To do that, she must leave Austria behind, and one of her methods was that of bringing herself, as it were, up to date.

Aim of Prussia.

One of the first effects was that Prussia began to prosper, and her prosperity, her business-like methods, made other German states inclined to join with her. There was talk of a League of German states, with one tariff for the whole. A German writer, Frederick List, in a book that attracted a great deal of notice, argued for a Union, with free trade for all the states within it. Such a Union grew up in south Germany, and finally the *Zollverein* was formed (*Zoll* = duty or toll; *verein* = union or federation). This took in Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and some smaller states. Austria would not, could not, come in; her own system of high duties, and her old-fashioned methods, made it impossible. Each time that the *Zollverein* was renewed, Prussia manœuvred to keep Austria out, and each time with success.

1819.

The *Zollverein*. 1834.

We cannot imagine how great a change all this was making. It was as if England had rushed from Tudor times to the nineteenth century in a few years. Moreover, the Customs Union (*Zollverein*) was the first great step in the making of the German Empire.

The French Revolution of 1830 found an echo in many German states—in Brunswick, Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria, Cassel. The rulers of Brunswick and of Cassel, who were

Revolts of 1830.

Map IX

The Zollverein or Customs Union of 1834 (Shaded). Hanover (H) Nassau (N) and Baden (B) joined a few years later.
The Union of 1834 included 17 States large and small, with a population of 23 millions. Free Trade was established for the first time in the history of Germany, within the shaded area.

not only despots, but stupid despots, lost their seats. New Constitutions appeared. In Prussia there was little disturbance, because there the Government knew its work, even if the work was done with a high hand. Austria too was very quiet, for there Metternich's spies enabled every threatening movement to be checked at once. The Diet, shortly after the 1830 revolutions, revised and strengthened the Carlsbad Decrees, to guard against outbreaks of Liberalism. No German ruler, the Diet declared,

1832.

was to grant anything that weakened his power. No German council was to refuse its ruler the taxes he needed. The Diet would assist any head of a German state to put down all meetings, societies, or symbols that appeared to be Liberal; and it would carefully watch all colleges and schools, and remove any teacher suspected of Liberalism. Even Metternich was satisfied.

"United Germany."

Those Germans who desired a more modern or more liberal form of government were generally also those who desired a large United Germany. The princes and rulers were not only opposed to the first, but to the second as well, because their own almost independent states would be of less importance as part of a large nation or empire. The neighbouring countries also were not inclined to welcome a united Germany, because nations do not rejoice at the appearance of a new powerful neighbour. They cannot feel sure that it will always be friendly. Britain, France, Austria, Russia, were none of them very desirous of seeing a great Prusso-German power established. Austria, in particular, feared that she would not be able to control a united north Germany in the way she could control the separate states, and events have proved that she had good cause for fear.

German Liberalism. 1833–1834.

In the German states, Liberalism made headway here and received a set-back there. One year, a Parliament was set up in Hanover; the next, the three monarchs (of Russia, Austria, and Prussia) declared their intention of putting down Liberalism in their own or in any other country. The Holy Alliance had become a *Dreikaiserbund* (Union of three Emperors) or, as one of its enemies said, "an Emperors' Trade Union." But the revolutionists were often wildly unreasonable, and when the Emperors asked Switzerland to get rid of the conspirators who flocked there, many Swiss thought the request sensible and just. The Constitution of Hanover, which we have just noted,

1837.

was dissolved when the Duke of Cumberland, uncle to Queen Victoria, became King of Hanover.

Austrian Distress.

Austria was now passing through the horrors of the Industrial Revolution; factories were rising, unemploy-

ment and starvation were afflicting the poorer classes. The death of Francis I., and the accession of Ferdinand I., 1835.
a man of weak mind, passed almost unnoticed ; Metternich continued to rule. But in Hungary, little touched as yet by industrial changes, there was political unrest.

Less than half the people of Hungary are Hungarians HUNGARY.
(Magyars). Just as Austria had a rather small governing (Map, page 47.)
group of Germans in the districts round Vienna, so Hungary had a rather small governing group of Magyars in the plains around Buda-Pest. The Magyars are proud of having had a Parliament since about the year 1000, and a Magna Carta (The Golden Bull) dating from about the time of (1222.)
the English Charter. But the Parliament remained, until far into the nineteenth century, a Parliament of nobles only. The Magyars were sharply divided into nobles and Magyar Nobles.
peasants. The nobles were the land-owners, some of them very rich, some rather poor, and quite uneducated. They, and they only, were considered to be citizens ; they elected the Parliament, they paid no taxes of any kind. The peasants paid all the taxes, gave military service, and, had no rights at all in comparison with those of the nobles. It was a great thing when nobles consented to pay toll, like other folk, in crossing the Danube by the new bridge built between Buda and Pest. Many of the nobles thought it an insult. Again, when it was proposed that although nobles must not be asked to pay taxes on the "noble" land they held, yet they should pay taxes upon any "not-noble" land they might buy, there came a cry of indigna- 1825.
tion from them.

Among these people there grew a strong spirit of liberty Magyar Independence.
as against all attempts to rule them from Austria, and yet, at the same time, an equally strong determination to rule the non-Magyars in Hungary (as numerous as themselves), exactly as they would not have Austria (or "Vienna," or "The Germans") to rule over Magyars. It is not the first time that a people has been very strong for liberty and independence—for itself.

There were two parties growing up in the Hungarian Magyar Parties.
Parliament, however. Both wished to keep Hungary as

free and independent as possible, within the Austrian Empire. The more conservative of the nobles wished to do no more, but a group of Magyar Liberals was formed round Louis Kossuth, a brilliant young writer whose fiery articles led to an imprisonment of three years. Europe was to hear of Kossuth very soon. The Magyar Liberals wanted to make the usual changes—to put all men equal before the law, to make the nobles pay taxes like the peasants, to establish trial by jury and better means of education.

Kossuth.

RUSSIA.

Many Russian Tsars, since Peter the Great, had tried to bring European (Western) ideas and education into Russia. Nicholas I. used all his energies to keep them out. There was an attempt at a revolution at his accession, planned by some army officers who wanted to set up a Parliamentary government. It was put down sharply and severely, and one of its effects was to make Nicholas more determined than ever to be an absolute Tsar.

1825.

POLAND.

He was crowned King of Poland, and he did not withdraw the Constitution given to that country by his brother, Alexander I. ; but in actual fact he was the absolute Tsar in Poland as in Russia. Many Polish Liberals were eager to revolt, confident that help would come from Britain and from France. The Polish nobles were more cautious, less hopeful, and they had their property to consider. But when the news of the Paris Revolution of July and of the rising in Belgium reached Warsaw, there was feverish excitement. When, on top of this, Nicholas called up the Polish army, for the declared purpose of sending it to put down the rising of the Belgians, the Poles seized the palace at Warsaw, and Constantine fled in haste.

1830.

Polish Rising.

Some of the Polish nobles put themselves at the head of the movement, declaring that they did so in the name of the Tsar, and sent word to Nicholas that not complete independence, but a greater amount of liberty, was the object of the rising. Nicholas asked them to choose between absolute submission and destruction. The Poles lost by the delay, for the Russian armies were gathering. Meanwhile, it soon became clear that no help would come

from outside. Britain would not interfere, and Louis Philippe did not yet feel firm enough on his throne to run any risks. Austria and Prussia, of course, as holders of parts of ancient Poland, had no desire to help the Warsaw revolutionists.

Polish War. 1831.

The Poles fought gallantly, but were outnumbered, ill-prepared, and not sufficiently united. There were five battles, Warsaw was besieged and taken, and Nicholas swept away the Constitution and made Poland a Russian province. Many Poles fled the country, many were sent to Siberia. Poland was put under the rule of soldiers.

The Nicholas System.

Nicholas continued his work of shutting off "Holy Russia" from the rest of Europe. Few foreigners were allowed to enter, few Russians allowed to leave the country. All religions, except that of the Orthodox Greek Church, were persecuted. The term of service in the army was twenty-five years, and the life was so severe that many peasants committed suicide to escape it.

Russian Writers.

One good result came from this closing of Russia, though it would have appeared in any case, possibly a little later. This was, that Russian writers ceased imitating those of the West, and worked after their own fashion. It was one of a few bright streaks in a black time.

Austrian Troubles.

Austria was not disturbed by any rising in her Polish province of Galicia; for the Austrian Poles have been governed, on the whole, more mildly than those of Prussia or of Russia. But there were disturbances in Austrian Italy.

Italy. The Papal States. 1831.

The first Italian echoes of the July Revolution of Paris were in the Papal states, and when an Austrian army marched to the defence of the Pope (Gregory XVI.), Louis Philippe protested. But the revolutionaries of the Papal states were crying out for a United Italy, and for "the abolition of the temporal power," that is, putting an end to government of actual territory by the Pope, leaving him as head of the Catholic religion only; and Metternich had no wish for either of these things anywhere in Italy. The government of the Pope's dominions was certainly very bad. Education was so backward that only about

one in a thousand could read or write, and brigandage was a flourishing industry.

NAPLES. 1830. PIEDMONT. 1831.

King Ferdinand II. of the Two Sicilies began his reign by granting a Constitution. In Piedmont men looked hopefully to the new king, Charles Albert. So for the present Naples and Turin were quiet. Both kings were absolutists at heart, though they were different enough from each other. Charles Albert had promised the Holy Alliance, before he became king, that he would never grant a Constitution. He blew hot and cold, and earned the nickname of King "See-Saw"; but many hopes were set in him for all that. Ferdinand also gained a nickname, King "Bomba," when he bombarded a port of his own country some years later.

King "See-Saw" and King "Bomba."

Pope Gregory was restored to power "by the Austrian bayonets," and continued to misgovern Central Italy. The murmurs of revolt died down, the leaders of the revolutionaries fled or were imprisoned. Among those who escaped were two of whom all the world was soon to hear, Giuseppe (Joseph) Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi. Mazzini went to Marseilles, and began to form a new revolutionary society, "Young Italy." A little later he went to London. Garibaldi fled to South America, where he prepared, after his own fashion, for the work that he was to do in Italy a few years later, the work of an "irregular" soldier. During these movements France seized Ancona, to hold it as long as Austrian troops stayed in the Papal states, and when the Austrians withdrew, the French forces withdrew also.

1831. 1837. 1834. (1838.)

THE BALKANS.

A greater disturbance was beginning in the south-east, where the break-up of the Turkish Empire—long threatened and long postponed—seemed to be approaching rapidly. Serbia already had gained a share of self-government, and by the Treaty of Adrianople, Greece became independent. In Turkish Africa, France seized the "pirate city" of Algiers. The expedition was perhaps chiefly intended by Charles X. and his Ministers to take people's attention away from home affairs by providing a triumph and a spectacle abroad, for that is a common

(1817.) 1829. 1830.

device of governments ; but the blow to Turkey was none the less for that.

Mehemet Ali. 1832.

And now Mehemet Ali, the Sultan's Viceroy in Egypt, who had helped Turkey during the Greek War, began fighting on his own account. His troops overran Syria, took Acre, and defeated two Turkish armies sent against him. He advanced towards Constantinople.

Russia and Turkey.

Turkey looked round for help against her vassal, and it was Russia that came first to her aid, so quickly do friends and enemies change their partners of war. But Russia's aim was the same now, when she sent a fleet and an army to protect Constantinople, as it had been four years earlier, when she sent an army against it. The less selfish part of that aim was to offer protection to the Greek Christians of the Balkans ; the more selfish part was to secure control of the entrance to the Black Sea. There is no great country in the world so shut out from the sea as Russia, and none that has so many of her harbours ice-bound.

The Powers and Turkey.

Britain took alarm at the appearance of Russia so near to the track of her route to India, and she also sided with Turkey. So did Austria and Prussia, denouncing Mehemet Ali—truly enough—as a rebel in arms against his lawful sovereign. For different reasons, all of them at bottom the one great reason of national interests, they frowned upon Mehemet Ali. But France, who had not lost her dream of an Eastern Empire (she had memories of Dupleix in India, of Buonaparte in Egypt), saw no reason why Egypt should not become independent.

1833. Unkiar Skelessi.

A treaty was signed between Russia and Turkey at a palace on the Bosphorus, by which the two countries undertook to support each other. There was a secret article, a common thing in treaties, by which Turkey promised to close the Dardanelles against all but Russian ships when Russia was at war. Britain and France disliked the treaty, and protested against it. British suspicion of Russian designs grew deeper. Another step had been taken towards the Crimean War. Mehemet Ali received Syria, and made peace. But we shall see him come forward once more.

CHAPTER X

WESTERN EUROPE, 1837–1848

Louis Philippe's Government.

LOUIS PHILIPPE had begun his reign as a "Citizen King," ruling not only by divine right but by the will of the people. Yet he continually fell more and more into disfavour with the mass of Frenchmen. He, or his Ministers

At Home.

Thiers and Guizot, blocked the path to almost every reform that was demanded. No steps were taken to deal with distress, unemployment, or the evil state of the workers in many of the factories. There was indeed a

1841.

Factory Act passed, but it was almost valueless. The moneyed men, it was said with bitterness, had put Louis Philippe into power, and it was their interests that were always considered.

Abroad.

The Government was unsuccessful, also, in foreign affairs. It took the side of Mehemet Ali when all the other Powers stood against him; and when Mehemet Ali was overthrown, Frenchmen felt themselves disgraced. The French Government also took a hand in arranging the marriages of two young princesses of Spain and Portugal, and came out of the business rather discreditably. Finally, the king was thought to be too friendly with Britain, friendly to the point of sacrificing the independence and dignity of France to her ancient enemy.

Labour and Distress.

On the top of this came two years of severe distress, with all the unrest and desperation that sharp suffering always brings. The reform that was being demanded in the revolution now preparing was not only a reform in the manner of governing the country, but one that

would ease the everyday lives of the mass of the people. There were cries for political reform, for a larger number of voters, for better control of government by the Chamber of elected Deputies; but the deeper cry was that for social reform, a cry that was sometimes a simple demand for bread, sometimes a demand for a complete re-arrangement of the wealth of the country. Louis Blanc's words, the "Right to Work" (*Droit du Travail*) were first muttered, and then shouted, in the streets of Paris. He and his followers declared that merely political changes had been proved useless; a social revolution was necessary. "When I see," said Louis Blanc, "the poor without the clothing and shoes that they themselves make, and see also the small minority that do not work, and yet want for nothing, I am convinced that government is still the old conspiracy of the few against the many, only it has taken a new form."

The "Right to Work."

The chief Ministers of Louis Philippe were Thiers and Guizot, both of them writers, both historians. Thiers had the idea of the English Whigs, that the king should govern as his Ministers advised him. Guizot stood for the English Tory idea that the king should ask advice of his Ministers without being at all bound to follow it. For eight years Guizot and Louis Philippe governed France very much in the style of the old Bourbon kings and their Ministers; and the eight years ended in a swift and sudden revolution. It might have been delayed, if the king and his Minister had been a little cleverer than they were, but it could not have been delayed for long, unless they had changed their methods.

Ministers Thiers and Guizot.

1840–48.

The case against the Guizot Ministry was this. It controlled the Chamber by giving posts with good salaries to members who would in return support the Government and give no encouragement to cries for reform. It allowed no real freedom to the Press, or to trade unions. It left the French people, now about thirty millions, with a Chamber elected by less than a quarter of a million voters. When more votes were demanded, Guizot said, "Work and grow rich and you will become voters." It had

Discontent in France.

brought France into discredit abroad. When Louis gave way to Britain in a quarrel that arose out of the French annexation of Otaheite and yet roused England's anger by marrying his son, contrary to his promises, to a Spanish princess, Frenchmen declared that he thought much of the power and honour of his family, but little of the power and honour of France. Finally, in everything that needed doing, the Government did nothing. "A stone post could carry out this policy," said one. "What have they done," asked another, "in seven years? Nothing."

Socialists and Catholics.

Meanwhile, two new parties were arising, both of which afterwards grew and established themselves throughout a great part of Europe—the Socialists and the Catholics. Both these parties hated the Government, though for different reasons.

Sometimes we seem to see in history that great changes came because they had to come: the seed is sown, and the harvest must follow. At other times, we fancy that much depended on the chance of some small event coming at the right time. France in 1848 seems to illustrate both of these contradictory views. Louis Philippe had indeed sowed the seeds of revolution, and yet there came a day when he had in his hand the power to destroy it before it grew to strength. He flinched: and on the morrow it was strong enough to destroy him.

Revolution of 1848.

It came about thus. The "Unsatisfied" parties held a series of banquets, which the Government frowned at, and at last forbade. One banquet was changed into a procession, and a night of crowded and disturbed streets kept Paris awake. The National Guard was ordered out to keep the peace, but most of the Guard marched with the crowds that cried for reform. Some shouted "*Vive la Republique!*" some sang the *Marseillaise.*

Louis Philippe was alarmed, and he dismissed Guizot. They were shouting "Down with Guizot!" in the streets. Thiers was made Minister, and a capable soldier was put in charge of the army. The royal palace was attacked, the throne at the Tuileries was destroyed, a mob broke into the Chamber. Louis abdicated, naming his grandson

as his successor—" King Louis Philippe II." But France took little heed of that.

Meanwhile, the new army chief had arranged his troops where they could have commanded the city. Had Louis put full powers into his hands at the first, instead of calling out the National Guard, the revolution might possibly have been crushed for the time. Even as it was, the army would probably have swept the city. But Louis was more inclined to cunning than to fierceness. The troops were withdrawn, and the " King of Barricades " fell with scarcely a struggle. Louis fled to England, where he lived in exile for the rest of his life.

Belgium.

The new kingdom of Belgium spent its early years in arranging for the government of the different parts of the country. There was a period of severe distress, with failures of banks, and all the confusion, loss, and suffering that come with heavy money losses.

1839.

Leopold's Policy.

The king (Leopold I.) purposely chose his Ministers from both parties, hoping to check the growth of bitterly opposed factions. But when the Catholics passed an Act making religious teaching compulsory in all schools, there was no more hope of Catholics and Liberals working together in the same Ministry. The programme of the Liberal party was set for an increase in the number of electors, and a system of education entirely out of the control of the Church. Some years later, when the Catholic party was framing a law to increase the power of the Church in the same matter of education, Louis Philippe advised Leopold (his son-in-law) to " annihilate " the Liberal Alliance—a society formed six years earlier. Leopold, however, had no taste for extreme measures. He called in a Liberal Ministry, and it was thought by many that the reason why Belgium passed quietly through the storm of 1848 was because a moderate Ministry was then in office. For when we think of a revolution as an outburst from below, we should remember that such outbursts are often all the more violent if there is something pressing down from above, that is stiff and unyielding. A match set to a heap of gunpowder will cause a flash and a flame ;

1842.

Catholics and Liberals.

but if the powder is covered with a layer of bricks, some one is likely to be hurt, though it may or may not be the one who applies the match.

Walloons and Flemings.

The division of the two parties, Catholics and Liberals, roughly corresponded with a difference of race and of language. The Walloons (= foreigners, like the word "Welsh") of the south and east are of Keltic origin, and speak a French tongue. They took an active part in the revolution of 1830, and got French established as the national language. The Liberal party found its chief supporters among the Walloons. The Catholics were and are strongest in the old land of Flanders, of which a part fell to France in earlier centuries. Belgian Flanders, lying towards the sea from Liége, is inhabited by a people more like the Dutch and Germans than they are like the French, though the race is a mixed one. The language is very like Dutch. But while the Dutch are fiercely Protestant, the Flemings are Catholic. Spain stamped out Protestantism very thoroughly here when the Netherlands was under the rule of Philip II., though she failed in a similar attempt in Holland.

A line drawn on the map from Gravelines (which lies east of Calais), north of Lille and Namur to Liège, marks out fairly accurately the boundary between the two peoples. Those north of the line are chiefly Flamands (Flemings) and Dutch. Those to the south are Walloons and French. But the language of educated Belgians is commonly French.

We must think of the two races in Belgium, however, as being utterly distinct. Walloons and Flemings are both proud of being Belgians. Some of those who came to England during the war of 1914 expressed their feeling of nationality thus: "Belgians—with all our hearts; French, if it be necessary; German—never." (*"Belges, de cœur; Francais, s'il faut; Allemands—jamais."*)

Holland.

Holland, meanwhile, had resumed its quiet life after the struggle to hold Belgium. The chief effect of the war, to most of the Dutch people, was a great increase in the national debt. William I. remained as autocratic as ever

Map X
THE LOW COUNTRIES
RACES
DUTCH
Gravelines
Calais
FLEMINGS
GERMANS
Lille
Liege
Namur
WALLOONS
FRENCH
Luxg.

1840. until the end of his reign. He surrendered the throne to his son, because he wished to marry a Catholic. William II. followed his father's methods of government, but a Dutch Liberal party grew, demanding a Parliament elected by the people, and not appointed by the king. William at first gave a blank refusal, but the disturbances of 1848 made him more yielding, and Holland became a Parliamentary country.

SWITZERLAND. The seven years that followed the "period of regeneration" were marked by local quarrels, disputes, and small revolutions. Following this again came the War of the

The Sonderbund. Sonderbund. Seven Catholic cantons formed themselves into an armed union which the Liberal cantons determined

Map, page 33. to dissolve. Before the war began, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France declared for the Sonderbund, and money and guns were sent to it by Austria and France. The French Minister, Guizot, proposed a European Con-

"Pam." ference to settle the affair. Lord Palmerston, for Britain, purposely delayed answering, and meantime advised the Swiss Liberals to attack quickly. They did so, and in

1847. three weeks the Catholics were overpowered.

A new Constitution for the government of Switzerland was established by the victorious Liberals, and according to their own ideas—universal manhood suffrage, free trade throughout Switzerland, metric weights and measures. Modern Switzerland, as a united country, dates from 1848. Before that it was a loose union of little states. A citizen army was established, with universal military service for a short period in each year.

SPAIN. The troubles of Spain did not cease when the Carlist

1840. War came to an end. The Generals of the army became party-leaders, and for ten years Spain was governed by military dictators. One of them ruled as regent for three years, the Queen-mother Christina, meanwhile, being compelled to fly to France. Barcelona proclaimed a Republic, and was bombarded. As the chief industrial town of Spain, Barcelona had become, and still is, a stronghold of revolt.

When Christina returned, and the young Queen Isabella

was proclaimed of age to rule (she was only thirteen), another General became the real ruler of the country, and there was no advance towards a satisfactory government, except that the taxes were put into better order. There were some Republican risings in 1848, but after so many years of fighting and disorder they seemed almost to be part of the usual life of the country.

Portugal also was still disturbed. The revolution of 1836, which put one party into power, was followed in a few years by a successful revolution of its opponents, and insurrections marked every other year afterwards for seven years. Ambitious leaders struggled against each other, changes came that left real things unchanged, and the land remained poor and disturbed. PORTUGAL.

CHAPTER XI

BRITISH ISLES AND BRITISH EMPIRE, 1837–1848

The Queen.

THE long reign of Queen Victoria, which began in 1837, had a very considerable effect upon Great Britain, partly because of its mere length, more because of the fact that the crown was borne by a woman, more still because of the personal character of the Queen, and the completeness with which she carried out the method of following the advice of her Ministers. We may put it that the Crown lost in actual direct power, but gained in the respect of all classes of citizens. There were many thoughtful men, from the time of the French Revolution to the accession of Victoria, who strongly desired a British Republic. Towards the close of the reign, there were very few who gave a moment's thought to it. For the first time for a generation, Britons were able to feel a particular pride and respect for their monarch, and this feeling set the monarchy on a new basis. As one of the Queen's Prime Ministers said, the influence of the monarch took the place of the power of the Crown.

The New Monarchy.

The great events of the first decade of the reign were connected with three movements: Chartism and Labour, Free Trade, and Home Rule. In the same ten years came improvements in education, and the modern Post Office.

Chartism.

The Chartist movement, and the agitation for free import of corn, occurred side by side during the same period. The former failed at the time, and seemed to go out like a dying fire. The latter won a striking success in about seven years, a success that acted as a torch to light up other fires.

Radicals.

The Reform Act of 1832, like the revolution of 1830 in France, left a great many supporters bitterly disappointed. The more advanced reformers, who came to be called Radicals, looked upon the Reform Act as one of a series of steps. The middle class had won its votes ; now, they said, it was the turn of the working class. But the victorious Liberals in the Commons thought that reform had gone far enough for the present ; it had reached finality, said Lord John Russell. The angry Radicals called him in mockery "Finality Jack." He was content, they said angrily, with a reform that left more than five men out of every six without a voice in the government of the country ; but they were not content.

Owenite Socialists.

There were joined with the Radicals (again as in France at the same time) men whose discontent was chiefly with the great differences between rich and poor, and who desired votes chiefly because they thought that through Parliament they could lessen those differences. They were called Owenites, after Robert Owen ; but later, here and on the Continent, they became known as Socialists.

1838.

The chief demand was for manhood suffrage, but the Chartists got their name from the six demands that were formed into what came to be called "The People's Charter." The six points were these :

Six Points.

1. Manhood Suffrage. The number of voters at the time was about 840,000 and the number of adult men over six millions.

1842.

2. Equal Electoral Districts. "Guildford," said a Chartist petition to Parliament, "with a population of 3920, returns to Parliament as many members as Tower Hamlets with a population of 300,000" ; and so in other cases.

(1858.)

3. Abolition of the Property Qualification for membership of Parliament. This was in fact very shortly accomplished.

4. Payment of Members. Together with the last point, this was intended to make it possible for working men to enter Parliament. It was made a part of the

(1911.) English Parliamentary system quite recently, but a considerable number of working-men representatives became members before any payments were made.

5. Vote by Ballot. Voting was done publicly, on an open platform, the hustings. Many workers said they dared not vote as they wished, for fear of their employers and landlords. Some years later, a Committee of Parliament declared that the system led to bribery, threats, (1872.) disorder, and rioting, and secret vote by ballot was established. The Lords wished to make secret voting optional, but the Commons overbore them.

6. Annual Parliaments. English Parliaments were (1694.) at an earlier time fixed at a term of three years; then (1716.) for seven years; and in our own time for five years. (1911.)

The curious thing about these six demands is that so large a proportion of them has since been accepted. Yet at the time the Charter and the Chartists were fiercely resisted. The reason is the usual one for cases where a Government refuses what its successors easily grant: that is, fear. There were some of the Chartists who wished to remove the burden of the National Debt by the simple method of refusing to pay either interest or principal. There were some that favoured an armed rising. There were many that wanted to put the bulk of the taxes upon the shoulders of the better-off classes. "Taxation," said the Charter, "must be made to fall on property, not on industry," —which is in fact quite a sound rule, though, like other sound rules, it can be interpreted in more ways than one.

The Government was too much alarmed to listen to any Chartist arguments. It prosecuted the leaders, and not always fairly. But the Chartists were unfortunate in Chartists' Petition. not having very good leaders. When a great petition was sent to the Commons, signed, it was said, by five million people in favour of the Charter, there were found to be less than two million signatures. Some funny fellows, also, had signed as "The Duke of Wellington, "Pug Nose," and the like. The Chartists got laughed at, and it is far worse for a movement of this kind to be laughed at

than to be persecuted. There might have been a serious riot, for when the petition was to be presented, the Government called upon the aged Duke of Wellington to station troops in London. To these were added a great number of special constables, enrolled for the purpose of preventing any riot. There was no fighting. Britain came through 1848 as quietly as she had come through 1830. Trade and employment slowly grew better, discontent grew less; and Chartism became a story in history books. 1848.

Unlike the Chartists, the people who conducted the great free trade agitation in Britain secured a striking victory in their time. At a meeting in Manchester, a League was formed to fight for the repeal of the corn laws. Now the corn laws were the very heart of the system of protection, and a victory here would mean enormously more than the changes made by the reforms of Huskisson some years earlier. It would mean, and did mean, that Britain would cease to be a protectionist country, and would become a free trade country. The Corn Laws. 1838.

Sir Robert Peel, the Conservative leader, began by improving the system of taxes upon imports, without touching the heart of the system itself; quite properly, since he and his party openly stood for its support. He began by reducing three-quarters of the duties upon articles imported—there were over a thousand of them. Not only did he lower the duties, but he made the rates simpler and easier to manage. Next, he reimposed the income-tax, abolished in 1816, and changed the duty on corn, which was the key to the whole battle. The duty was to fall from 20s. a quarter to 1s. a quarter as the price rose from 50s. to 73s. But the free traders cried out that such a change was valueless. They were well supplied with money, and they held meetings, printed and sent out pamphlets, and directed speakers over all the country. Among their supporters were two distinct groups: employers who wanted cheap raw materials and cheap labour; and workers who wanted cheap food. They had the support of the economists, who have always said that taxes should not be arranged so as to hinder the Income-tax and Tariff. 1841. 1842.

increase of trade. Their chief opponents were landlords who feared that free corn would mean lower rents from their land. A more powerful argument, that the Corn Laws kept many labourers employed in growing corn, was somewhat difficult for them to use, as the farm labourers' wages were so low under the Laws that they could hardly go any lower.

Cobden and Bright.

Richard Cobden and John Bright were the two leaders of the movement, and they represent it completely on its higher and on its lower sides. Their friends could say truly that they were high-minded men, with practical knowledge of trade and industry, sincerely desirous of improving both the trade of the country generally and the lives of the workers; lovers of peace, far-sighted, anxious for the development of a peaceful, prosperous, contented, intelligent England. Their enemies could say, as truly, that they were themselves manufacturers who would profit by free trade, that they desired cheap food partly because that meant cheap labour, that they advocated a new thing, which usually meant a new risk, and that they might sacrifice agricultural England for the new manufacturing England.

Irish Famine, 1845.

Suddenly, a powerful and horrible argument was added to those of the free traders—famine in Ireland through the failure of the potato crop. In the autumn Sir Robert Peel decided for the free importation of food for a while. Twice he tried to get his Cabinet to agree to the change, twice he failed. He resigned, and the Queen sent for Lord John Russell. But Russell could not get support enough to take office. Peel returned, and early next year he carried the repeal of the Corn Laws, against the will of his own party in the Commons. The Liberal and Conservative votes upon the Bill almost exactly balanced; but over a hundred Conservative "Peelites" voted with their leader and against the bulk of their party. Among the Peelites (who began as Conservative free traders, and ended, for the most part, as Liberals) was the future Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone, who completed the work of making England a free trade country.

Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846.

No immediate fall in the price of corn resulted: a fact that puzzled many free traders and caused many protectionists to rejoice. The chief reasons were these. The duties were not immediately taken off, for a tax of four to ten shillings a quarter remained for three years, falling then to one shilling for another twenty years, when import became free. It took time to arrange for a regular trade in importing corn, for the great and sudden changes in price had prevented any proper system of transport being built up. With the fall of the duty to a shilling came an influx of gold from the newly-discovered fields of California and Australia. The extra gold sent all prices bounding upwards, as it must do while prices are based largely or wholly upon gold. In the five years that followed the fall of the duty to a shilling, prices generally rose by about forty per cent, corn prices rising with others. In the Tariff Reform dissensions, fifty years later, many people showed that it was still a mystery to them that corn did not suddenly become cheap after 1846. The effect was disguised, but it was none the less real. Taxes make things dearer, and removing taxes makes things cheaper. If it were not so, the chief arguments both for free trade and for protection would equally disappear. But such things as harvests, the supply of gold, convenience and cost of transport, changes in national habits, the discovery of substitutes, all have their effects; and they may for a long while hide or disguise the effect of the imposition or the repeal of a tax.

Effects of the Repeal.

1847–49.

1869.

1849.

1849–54.

(1903.)

The Irish leader, Daniel O'Connell, constantly reminded Irishmen that Catholic Emancipation had not been granted because it was just, but because the great agitation for it had alarmed the English Government. Home Rule (the repeal of the Act of Union) was now to be gained, he said, by the same methods—speeches, meetings, leagues, restless agitation. He was not in the least a revolutionist in the ordinary sense of the word. He was against all methods of violence. But he made use of all possible peaceful methods of worrying and attacking the Government, from securing seats in the Commons for his relatives

Ireland.

(1829.)

O'Connell and Repeal.

and his supporters, to holding great meetings in favour of the repeal. At one such meeting, on the Hill of Tara, the place of coronation of the old Irish kings, over two hundred thousand people were present. Another great meeting was arranged to be held at Clontarf, near Dublin.

1843. The Government forbade it; O'Connell accepted their decision, and ordered the thousands who were moving towards Clontarf to abandon the meeting and return home. He was obeyed, but from that moment the power of the repeal agitation was gone. O'Connell and his chiefs were tried for conspiracy, and sentenced to fines and imprisonment. A few months later, the House of Lords reversed the sentence, and set the agitators free. But the career of the "Liberator" was over. He set out for Rome, and died on his way.

1847. Potatoes and Corn in Ireland.

The failure of the potato crop in Ireland was the chief immediate cause of the terrible famine which had begun in that year, but not in the way that is commonly thought. There was more than enough food raised in

1845–46. Ireland in the famine years to feed all its inhabitants. In 1845 there were exported from Ireland about twenty-five million bushels of corn, meal, and flour. But the poorer Irish grew potatoes for their own chief food, while corn was grown and sold largely to pay rents. When people began to die in scores and then in hundreds from sheer starvation; when disease followed on the heels of famine, and the stricken people began to pour westward to America, a bitterness grew up in Ireland against the governing English, far deeper than anything that had existed before. The Government made many efforts,

Efforts of Government. but the right efforts were not made at the right time. The Ministry was hampered by two things. There was the *laissez faire* idea of the time, which taught that people must not be helped till they are destitute. This often meant that help must only come when the mischief is done, and the people broken and demoralised; and now it meant, in thousands of cases, that help was forestalled by death. The other hindrance was that a Government largely supported by landowners, English

and Irish, had to consider the interests of its own supporters, as well as the wants of the Irish cottagers; and it was difficult to act so as to have full regard for both. Yet money and food, from private and public gifts, were poured into Ireland.

India, 1915, and Ireland, 1845.

(A sharp contrast to the actions of the British Government during the Irish famine was made by the Indian Government in 1915. Wheat was selling everywhere at a high price, on account of the European War, and a great deal was sown in India, leaving very small stocks in hand. The Government feared that the high prices would cause so great an export as to leave a shortage of food in India—exactly what had happened in Ireland in 1845. Two things were done, in anticipation of such a danger. Export was forbidden, and the Government bought up great quantities of corn. Here was a complete change from *laissez faire* to a very downright piece of "Government interference.")

1841–51.

The Irish famine continued for some years, and at the next population census it was found that the figures had fallen from eight to six millions. But the stream of emigration did not cease with the famine. The chief reason for this was the repeal of the corn laws. For under the Corn Laws Ireland had built up a large though "artificial" industry in the growth of corn for export to England. Now that other lands could send corn freely, the Irish trade fell fast. In the second half of the nineteenth century two-thirds of the Irish corn-land was turned to grass, a method of cultivation which needs far fewer men to the acre.

Irish Population.

"Young Ireland."

From the failure of O'Connell's agitation, and the bitter experience of the famine, there grew up a new Irish party, which came to be called "Young Ireland." The leadership came into the hands of Smith O'Brien, the brother of an Irish lord, and a descendant by claim of the famous Irish king Brian Boru. The wave of revolution in 1846 broke over Ireland, but feebly. There was a little fighting. O'Brien and John Mitchell were transported, and the country entered upon what might

equally well be called a period of peace or a period of exhaustion.

CANADA. A great part of the story of the growth of the British Empire falls within the reign of Queen Victoria, and at the very beginning of the reign there came the most important event in our colonial history since the loss of

1837. the American colonies. A small rebellion in Canada called the attention of the Ministry to the many small quarrels occurring in Canada over questions of government. Lord Durham, one of the keen young reformers of 1832, was sent out to inquire into the grievances of the colonists. He was recalled rather hastily, but the report he drafted had a great share in altering the whole plan of Colonial government. It put into words the ideas of a group of reformers of the time—John Stuart Mill, Bentham, Wakefield, and Charles Buller, the actual writer of most of the report. The chief point was very simple. It was a repetition of the idea which Charles James Fox expressed in connection with the revolt of

Colonial Self-government. the American Colonies: that the way to keep colonies is to let them govern themselves. As things were, the six Canadian colonies were ruled chiefly by a Governor sent out from Britain, aided, in some cases, by a kind of Colonial House of Lords. The elected Lower House had little control, and in Quebec, for example, it had been refusing to grant money to the Government, but without any effect except that of sharpening a struggle.

The New Colonial System. The important change was that the Governor of a colony with a Parliament must be advised by the representative of the colony, and not by the British Colonial Office. The change was made, English fashion, bit by bit, and by the method of setting up a new custom, not by passing a new law. For the present, an Act was

1840. passed joining Ontario and Quebec, the rival British and French colonies, under one government, with greater powers in the hands of the Lower House. The real change came later, and very quietly, when Lord Durham's son-in-law, as Governor, took as his advisers

1847. the leaders of the French majority of the Lower House.

His action caused a riot, but it set a custom which rapidly spread to other colonies. Colonial self-government to-day means that the elected majority holds office; the Governor does not govern. In 1775 Britain determined to rule her colonies, and lost them. After 1838 she left her colonies to rule themselves, and kept them.

THE EMPIRE.

Meanwhile, a new colony was added to the British Empire—New Zealand; at first under New South Wales, 1839. but very soon as a separate colony. Hong Kong was 1841. annexed, as a result of a war with China arising out 1842. of the opium trade, which was a sort of open smuggling. There were wars during this period in Afghanistan, Sind, and the Panjab. In Afghanistan a British force was utterly destroyed during a march from Kabul. In the 1842. same year, Kabul was captured and its forts destroyed. Sir Charles Napier's victory at Miani led to the annexation of Sind. 1843. Two short wars with the Sikhs followed 1845, 1848. swiftly, and the Panjab was annexed.

PENNY POST. 1840.

The story of the Penny Post is chiefly the story of Rowland Hill's struggle to get people to see that a cheap rate for the whole kingdom would not only be a great convenience in private and in business life, but would be really profitable to the State. Under the old system it cost over a shilling to send a letter from London to Scotland, eightpence from London to Brighton, each single sheet counting as a letter. The most outrageous part of the old system was that members of Parliament and their friends sent letters free—five million letters were sent in this fashion the year before the change. The new rate of a penny for sending a half-ounce letter anywhere in the kingdom came into force at the beginning of 1840. It marks the introduction of cheap postal systems throughout the civilised world.

CHAPTER XIIa

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE, 1837–1848

Austria. 1830–1848.

When the name of Louis Kossuth began to be mentioned beyond Hungary, the "system of Metternich" was already failing in vigour. The Austrian Empire was still the same ungoverned land of halt and silence that Metternich and the Emperor desired. The crowds of

Officials.

Ministers and officials were still at Vienna. To them went endless papers—for there were no powers except those in the Emperor's hands. The papers were passed from one official to another, and little was done. Year by year there was a small balance of money on the wrong side, but no one, not even the officials, knew exactly what the accounts were. Usually a loan was

Ferdinand I. 1835.

raised, and things were left as before. When Ferdinand came to the throne (a weak-minded, incapable man) Metternich was growing old, and as the years passed, there was less vigour in the government. Even the police and spies, the most effective part of the system, became inactive. Forbidden books and newspapers entered freely. At the frontiers, smuggling was constant. For example, though there was a heavy duty on silk goods, only one silk dress paid the duty in three years.

Nationalist and Liberal Discontent.

A double revolt was slowly preparing. On the one hand, there were national revivals among the Magyars, the Bohemians (Czechs), the Croats, the Poles. On the other hand were the Liberals, demanding reforms.

The Czechs revived their ancient language, searched for old manuscripts, wrote the story of Bohemia of olden times, rebelled against German rule and the German

tongue, and proclaimed their kinship with the Russians. This was the beginning of a movement in Eastern Europe that came to be known as Panslavism.

Panslavism.

The Poles of Austria felt the rule of an alien race far less than those under Prussia and Russia, and Polish anger turned chiefly against these countries, especially, at this time, against Russia.

In Hungary both the Nationalist and the Liberal movements were strong. The Magyar Liberals, under Kossuth and Deák, were struggling, as Liberals, against their own nobles, and, as Magyars, against the Austrian rule. For the first, the Magyar nobles resisted them; for the second, they supported them. A victory was won when the Magyar tongue became the official language of the country. The Liberal movement became vigorous also among German-speaking Austrians. Yet all these stirrings were but like ripples on a pond. The Government did little, but held fast.

Magyars.

1840.

A rising of the Poles of Galicia seemed to test the strength of Vienna, and to find it as firm as ever. In a few months the revolt was crushed, chiefly by the peasants of the same district, and the only result appeared to be that Austria annexed the tiny republic of Cracow, the last remnant of an independent Poland.

1846.

The Poles and Cracow.

1847.

Then, suddenly, came the news of the overthrow of Louis Philippe. Kossuth made a flaming speech, comparing Austria to a house of the dead, and crying out for a free Constitution. His speech was printed, and was spread broadcast over Austria. Students and artisans attacked the troops in Vienna. Cries of "Down with Metternich!" filled the streets. In a few days the astounding news ran through Europe that Metternich had fled, in disguise, to England. His career was ended.

Magyar Revolt.

1848.

The Magyars, and chiefly the Magyar Liberals, put their demands into a form that became known as the March Laws. Hungary was to have a real Parliament at Buda-Pest elected on a wide franchise. Trial by jury, freedom of the Press, religious liberty, were to be established; Hungary was to have complete control of

March Laws, 1848.

her own affairs; the peasants were no longer to pay labour-services to the nobles. A new Hungary had arisen.

Other Revolts.

There were stirrings, movements, and claims throughout the Empire. The Czechs of Bohemia called a Congress of Slavs at Prague, where the enthusiasts tried to understand Slav speeches in the Czech, Russian, Polish, and Serbian tongues. The Croats demanded a Croatian instead of a Magyar governor; the Serbians rose, intending to join the Croats; the Rumanians of Transylvania revolted; the Italians within the Empire determined to join themselves to Piedmont.

Government Collapse.

The demands of the Czechs for a greater share of liberty and self-government were granted, and when the German provinces of Austria demanded a Parliament for the whole Empire, and self-government for themselves, that, too, was granted. It seemed as if the end of the old Austrian Empire had come; and yet in a few months it was completely restored.

Restoration by the Army.

The first blow at the revolutionaries was delivered in Bohemia, where an Austrian General bombarded Prague, conquered the province, and held it by force of arms. In the Austrian provinces of Italy, indeed, it seemed as if the old system had crumbled to pieces. Armies from Piedmont, Tuscany, Naples, and the Papal states combined against the Austrians, and drove them north. The Austrian General, Radetsky, withdrew to a group of fortified towns near Verona, long famous as the Quadrilateral; and here he waited for his opportunity. It was not long in coming. The states of southern Italy withdrew their troops, Radetsky marched out against Charles Albert and the Piedmontese, and defeated them at Custozza. He would have marched then upon Milan, but for protests that came from France and Britain.

Italian Provinces.

Custozza, 1848.

Magyars and Slavs.

There remained Hungary, now practically an independent country. But the Magyars of Hungary would not allow any separate Slav Government to be set up within their borders, and this was exactly what the

Slav Croats desired. The Austrian Government played off the one against the other, and appointed the Croat leader, Jellachich, as Governor of Croatia. A civil war broke out in Hungary, between the Magyars on the one side, and the Serbs and the Croats on the other. Austria's next move was to appoint Jellachich as head of the Hungarian army, while declaring the Diet of Hungary dissolved. The first effect of this move was a rising in Vienna in favour of the Magyars, and the Emperor had to fly from his capital. Once more the Austrian throne was saved by the army. The besieger of Prague laid siege to Vienna, and took it after a week's fighting.

But the Emperor was still tied by the promise he had given to Hungary, when he accepted the March Laws. He abdicated, or was forced to abdicate, in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph I., then a youth of eighteen years. He, it was declared, was free from all promises. The March Laws were dead.

Francis Joseph I.

The re-conquest of Hungary took place in the next year. Austrian troops from the west, Serbs and Croats from the south, invaded the country. The Magyars, at first defeated, rallied in desperation and drove back the Austrians. Hungary declared herself independent — practically, a republic. On this, the young Emperor appealed for help to Nicholas I. of Russia, who was no lover of revolutionaries or republics. Russian armies poured in upon Hungary from the east. The Magyars fought heroically, but their position was now a hopeless one. In August the struggle was over. Kossuth fled; there followed the usual hangings and imprisonments. The new Hungary, so lately born, was dead, and a province of Austria remained. Yet when next a Russian army marched into Hungary, the Magyars fought side by side with Austrians against it.

1849. Hungarian War.

Russian Invasion, 1849

(1914.)

In Prussia, the reign of Frederick William III. ended in reaction, though not of a violent kind. His son, Frederick William IV., began his reign by expressing the usual view of German princes, that he held his crown

Prussia.

Frederick William IV. 1840.

from God, and was as a father to his people. To the demand for a Constitution, now growing strong, he answered by a small increase in local government. But he kept strict watch over schools and colleges where liberal ideas were sometimes expressed. A shadow of a Parliament was called, but not by popular election, and here the king declared that he would never allow a sheet of paper (a written Constitution) to stand between God and the country.

1847.

Berlin Riots. 1848.

Soon afterwards came the news of the revolution in Paris. Excited meetings were held, and there was some fighting in the streets of Berlin. Barricades were set up. The king promised to withdraw the troops if the barricades were removed. He was asked to withdraw the troops first, and did so. He declared himself in favour of a Constitution, with responsible Ministers, trial by jury, equality before the law. He rode through Berlin, making speeches to the crowds. He put himself at the head of those who wished for German unity and for Parliamentary government—the two desires of the German Liberals. A Parliament met at Frankfort. It talked a great deal, and, as Parliaments often do, a great deal too much. For the present, we must leave it, talking. Prussia and North Germany had come through the fiery year of 1848 with little change. In a year or two, things had settled down very much as they had been for a generation.

The Balkans.

In the East, there was another struggle between Mehemet Ali and the Sultan's troops, and vassal Egypt proved once more to be stronger than her nominal master. The affair brought France and Britain to the verge of war, for France was inclined to help Mehemet Ali, while Britain very definitely helped the young Sultan who came to the throne that year. British and Austrian ships bombarded Acre, and Mehemet withdrew his forces into Egypt.

1839.

1840.

Reschid Pasha.

Young Turks.

Meanwhile, an intelligent Turkish statesman was endeavouring to introduce reforms of a Western pattern, and there arose a Young Turk party, supporting the

reformer, and finding itself opposed by those that we may call the Old Turks, who wanted things left as they had been for so many years. The reformer, Reschid Pasha, had little success with his plans for improving taxation or establishing schools, but he managed to get the customs simplified. The chief improvement that resulted was in the army.

Russia continued to live under the "Nicholas system," that is, without any attempts at reform. Severe laws were passed to punish all who acted in any way against the Orthodox religion, and people who expressed "liberal" ideas continued to be imprisoned. Some of these afterwards wrote accounts of their imprisonment in books that came to be read throughout Europe. But 1848 brought no fresh disturbance, no change, to Russia. RUSSIA.

CHAPTER XIIB

NORTHERN EUROPE, 1815–1848

SWEDEN. SWEDEN had been overcome by Russia during the Napoleonic War, and had lost Finland. The King of Sweden adopted a French General, Bernadotte, as his heir, and under him Sweden joined the Allies against Napoleon.

Union with Norway. 1814. After the war, the Allies punished the King of Denmark, who had stood by Napoleon, by taking Norway from him and giving it to Sweden. Norway had been a province of Denmark for four centuries, and her people, who had lived quietly enough, were stirred to anger at being handed over in this cool fashion. Norway set up a king of her own, and a war broke out between the two countries. It was ended by an arrangement something like that between England and Scotland—that is, Norway kept the management of a good deal of her own affairs. Meanwhile, Sweden sold the remainder of the Swedish Pomerania to Prussia.

1814.

1815.

NORWAY. Norway was and is a land of sailors, merchants, and small farmers—these last, for the most part, owning their own farms. She had the most democratic government in all Europe in the years that followed Waterloo, and the same is true to-day. There was no Court, and the Norwegians abolished the few noble titles they had. This was done in the teeth of the opposition of the King of Sweden. For the Norwegian Parliament had powers to defy the king, and used them. This Parliament, the Storthing, was elected by the great mass of the nation, and it chose a quarter of itself for an Upper House—a

Democracy.

Norwegian Parliament.

very different body from our House of Lords, for example. The other three-quarters made the Commons. This also is the same to-day. The Swedish Government was of a more aristocratic kind altogether, so that the two peoples were constantly in disagreement. But they had enough in common to keep them together, in spite of many quarrels, for nearly a century. They were similar in religion, and neither of them had power enough to tyrannise over the other. Moreover, they had increased in population and in wealth, and in both countries a wide measure of liberty was left to the whole of the nation. Meanwhile, they had developed manufactures, introduced reforms, established systems of education. Those who say, "Happy is the country that has no history," could illustrate what they mean from the story of modern Norway.

Prosperity

Denmark began the century with an absolute king, a Court that governed in secret, and a large body of nobles. For about fifty years a struggle went on over the problem of setting up a Parliament of a modern kind; but the discussion was interrupted by the dispute about the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which form the peninsula joining Denmark to Germany. The people of north Schleswig were Danish, the rest German; but when the settlement was made in 1815, there was little consideration for race or nationality, as we have seen. Both Duchies were put under Denmark, and Holstein, but not Schleswig, was included in the German Confederation. By this arrangement, Holstein was pulled in two directions, north and south. Its people were called upon to be Danes and Germans at the same time. Of the two, they seemed at first to regard themselves as Danes rather than as Germans, but they soon began to protest at the high-handed manner in which King Frederick swept aside their ancient customs and privileges. A demand began to arise for separation from the more Danish Schleswig. To make the confusion worse there were many Danes in Holstein, many Germans in Schleswig.

DENMARK.

Schleswig-Holstein.

1830.

1839. On the death of Frederick, the German Holsteiners declared that the new king, Christian VIII., could not rule over Holstein, for by its laws he was debarred. Neither would they agree to any separation of the Duchies. They demanded that both Duchies should form a united independent state, entirely within the German Confederation. Danish Liberals proposed that the German portions of the Duchies should be left to the Confederation, while Schleswig, north of the river Eider, where the people were chiefly Danes, should form part of the kingdom of Denmark. But neither King Christian nor the German Holsteiners would agree to any separation of the Duchies.

1848. The Holsteiners rose in rebellion, and a Danish army marched against them. There was fighting for two years with two intervals of truce. At first the Holsteiners

1848-50. were defeated; but a Prussian force drove back the Danes, and a short truce was agreed upon. There followed an attempt of the Holsteiners to invade Denmark, but this failed. Prussian troops, however, held the two Duchies, until a conference met at London to settle the dispute. The Conference supported King Christian, and the Prussian troops withdrew. The Schleswig-

1850. Holstein question was not answered, however; the full answer is bound up with the story of Prussia.

CHAPTER XIII

A REVIEW, 1815–1848

The year 1848 is the year of revolution, and it would be possible, if we could gather in all the facts, and examine them with perfect understanding, to explain why revolution came just in that year, why in some countries it did not come at all, and why it left Europe so little changed. But if we cannot do all this, we can at least mark out one or two points. The Year of Revolution.

Revolutions, like mutinies, spring from hope and despair. A weary traveller, halting at last with a strong conviction that he is on the wrong path, will strike off to the right or to the left, wherever a flash of hope may beckon. The men of 1848 were somewhat like such a traveller. They had grown to manhood since 1815, in the light and shadows of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, during the break-up of serfdom, the beginning of wide education, the new and quicker movements between nations. They had been told in 1815 that European wars were now ended. They had been told that the new machines, the new inventions, the railways, the steamships, would make amazing increase in the world's wealth. Many of them had come to think that if only free Parliaments were established, all would go well, and others expected as much from "free trade and free labour." Causes of Revolution. Hopes.

More disappointment than fulfilment followed these hopes. It was quite plain that wars were not ended, for there had been fighting enough in Europe since Waterloo, though most of it had been in civil strife. The Disappointment.

increased wealth had come, but it seemed that the great bulk of it had gone to a few. At any rate, there was enough and to spare of poverty, unemployment, strikes, and cries for bread, in the "'Forties." Nor had Parliaments, where they had come, brought better times, England, the mother of Parliaments, had just reformed herself after the great Act of 1832, but English wheat stood at £5 per quarter in the spring of 1847; a "general fast" was held (March 20) on account of the scarcity of food; there was terrible distress in Ireland. After the dust of the revolutions of 1848 had settled, so that men could look around them, and look backwards through clear air, any European who considered history as the story of movement, change, and growth, could take some rough measure of the positions of men and nations in 1815. In 1815, the rulers and governments of Europe were seated firmly in the saddle. In the course of thirty-three years there came three revolts, each stronger than the last, each more widespread than the last—1820, 1830, and 1848.

1815–48.

The French Bourbon kings were swept away, there was a new Belgium, a firmer Switzerland, but the rulers of Europe sat strong and still. Italy was not united, nor was Germany. Austria, though shaken, held together.

Facts and Ideas.

These were the plain political facts of 1848. On the whole, except in France and in Belgium, there was little change. But if we think of history as the story of growth, we must take heed of ideas, as well as of facts. It was because men held certain ideas that Christian knights marched on Jerusalem, that devout Spaniards burned sincere Dutchmen, that Cromwellians executed a king, that Germans destroyed Louvain. The story of Europe after 1848 depended very greatly on the change in men's ideas since Waterloo, and far farther back still.

First, throughout Europe, the ideas of the Holy Alliance had been shattered and shaken. They were not dead; Absolutism in 1848 was still strong, but it had grown weaker; it had been thrust beyond the line where victory is still possible. After 1815, it could still be

Absolutism.

feared (or hoped) that Europe would pass completely under the control of kings, absolute or nearly absolute. After 1848, such a thing was plainly impossible. The method of governing Europe for the future was settled. It was sweeping like a strong wave from west to east: the method of a Parliamentary government with or without a king. In 1848.

From Portugal to Berlin, the King-and-Parliament method was fixed, except that in France and Switzerland the Parliament stood without a king. France, however, was not yet at the end of her experiments. Absolutism held firmest in the countries farthest from the centre—Russia, Turkey, Spain. We must recall here that Portugal, though lying farther west than Spain, is less shut off from Europe in reality, because of her sea-connections and Spain's separating mountains.

Next, the idea of separate nations had gained over the idea of a united Europe. Nationalism, patriotism, had become stronger. We, who have lived all our lives in the midst of a strong feeling of nationality and patriotism, are too much inclined to think it was always as strong. But, if we take the whole history of men, it is a new thing. At first, no doubt, it was the family group, the tribe, the clan, that claimed the services and sacrifices of its members. There was a time also when true patriotism meant loving and serving one's own little city; for the neighbouring cities were filled with "foreigners," who might be one's enemies to-morrow. The nation, as we understand it, did not grow up till many centuries had passed. In all this long story the few years between 1815 and 1848 could not show any great change, but they do show plainly enough the great nations of Europe separating themselves, and demanding to settle their own affairs in their own way. It was possible after 1815 for a concert of kings to make plans for interfering in Spain or Italy. It was not possible after 1848. The idea of independent nations had triumphed over the idea of a "trade union of monarchs," and even over the greater idea of a united Europe, just as the idea of the Nationalist Feeling.

sovereignty of peoples had overshadowed the idea of the divine right of kings.

France and the Powers.

Two things were practically said to France, after Waterloo, and one of them held good, while the other sank into decay. The first was something like this: "You shall not dominate us all by the threat of your armies. Under your powerful military Emperor you were a constant threat to us. He must go, and you must be a nation among nations, not a nation over nations." The other, which we have seen perish, was after this fashion: "You shall go back to the France that was before 1789, to the old Bourbon government, or to something as nearly like it as we can set up. Not only shall you be deprived of Napoleon and the dream of world empire, but even in your own land you shall be governed according to our wishes, and not according to yours. We know what is best for Europe, and for you. If you will not accept it, you shall be forced, like a naughty child." But, however naughty she might be, France was not a child; and in 1830 she took her own affairs into her own hands again.

German and Italian Unity.

There are two great movements of this period that are as yet only the forerunners of changes to be described. Both are nationalist, both are movements towards a larger union. The one is in Germany, and its centre is at Berlin. The other, in Italy, moves out from Milan to the oldest Italian centre, Rome. These two stories belong mainly to the next period. What we may best notice just now are the difficulties in the way. In the first, there are many jealousies: between Austria and Prussia, between German and Pole, between the greater and the lesser states, the greater and the lesser dukes and princes, between North Germans and South Germans, Protestants and Catholics, Liberals and Conservatives. There is the dead-weight of past history, the long-established Germany of a hundred little states. And lastly, there is the opposition of the neighbouring countries who do not wish to see a strong united Germany established—France, Austria, Britain, Russia.

Difficulties: German.

In Italy, the difficulties are simpler, and their overcoming, as we shall see, was also simpler, swifter, more violent. There was but one religion, one speech, one great enemy (Austria). But there was a special difficulty created by the Pope at Rome. For the Pope was not only the head of the Catholic Church, but also a ruling prince of central Italy; in agreement with the ideas of government held at Vienna; constantly supported by the Austrian power, even against Italians —in fact, always against Italians; objecting to a united Italy as strongly as Austria herself. We have already seen some of the first struggles. We shall see Italy making herself into a nation, sometimes looking for help, but finally deciding to help herself—"*Italia fara da se.*" Difficulties: Italian.

All these movements, from Italian hopes to Belgian accomplishments, we can put into one sentence: the formation or the consolidation of nations, quite separated from each other, and desirous of separation in the sense that each nation was claiming the right to carry on its own affairs in its own way without interference from outside. It was a claim not always granted, since Austrian troops marched to protect princes from people in Italy, Russian troops to protect an Austrian Emperor from revolted Hungarians. From a sentence, we can squeeze the essence of the movement into a word—nationalism. Nationalism.

There had been changes also in the daily lives of millions of men. After 1848, there were few serfs left, outside Russia. Serfdom, like negro slavery, was passing away. The ideas of the French Revolution had broken the system of serf-labour; the ideas of the British Industrial Revolution were sweeping over France, Germany, Western Europe, establishing wage-labour in a "capitalist" system. Instead of lords and serfs, the arrangement was to be employers and "hands." For good or ill—and it was for both—the new system was quickly taking the place of the old. The Continent, in 1815, had been almost entirely a land of serfs, peasants, and hand-workers; of fields and villages. Now the Economic Change. Master and Man.

machine, the railway, the steamship were changing the whole manner of work and trade, in Prussia, Belgium, and France; and the other countries, except Russia and the Balkan Peninsula, were beginning to see the first few experiments made.

The New Middle Class.

The new middle-class manufacturers and traders were pouring out goods at an unheard-of rate, and at low prices. They were becoming as wealthy as the old noble families; they were beginning to control governments. Under Louis Philippe, they were "France." The share of the new wealth that fell to the families of the great masses of workers was small enough—in some cases their condition had become worse; but a share did fall to them nevertheless.

Labour and Trade Unions.

Out of the disappointment and discontent at their small gains, the working-class movements towards combined effort rose up. We have seen how Trade Unions, in Britain and in France, were viewed by the governing classes as conspiracies, how they were denounced as useless and mischievous things. We have seen how a new element entered into the Paris revolution of 1848—something that was to play a greater part in later disturbances—Socialism. The Trade Unionist and the Socialist, unlike the revolutionary, whose whole desire was to overthrow kings and nobles, did not care for securing votes, except as stepping-stones to another field. The Trade Unionist wanted higher wages, more

Socialism.

leisure, better conditions of work. The Socialist aimed at a method of distributing the wealth of the nation so as to prevent any man or any family from becoming either very poor or very rich; and the method was ownership by the State, employment by the State. It was in England that Trade Unionism developed first and strongest; in Germany, Socialism. It was from Germany

1848.

that the first important Socialist declaration came, the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, though perhaps the real founder of modern Socialism was Robert Owen. But the important thing was that a new kind of revolt had begun. These men,

Marx and Engels in Germany, Fourier and Louis Blanc in France, were more intent upon wealth and wages than upon constitutions and republics. The rich, they said, were growing richer, and the poor, poorer. They declared that the civilised world was rushing towards a tremendous revolution of a new kind, which would end in nations taking possession of the land, buildings, and machinery of the nation, and managing the whole business of the world themselves. The old slave-empires, they said, gave place to feudalism ; feudalism had now given place to capitalism, based on private enterprise and free labour, a system of wages and profits ; and this in turn would give way to State enterprise, which, when complete, would be Socialism.

Socialist Prophecy.

Europe was in fact beginning to think about political economy as much as about politics ; often, indeed, much more. The whole Free Trade movement sprang also from the new interest in Political Economy. We have seen how the older method of taxing foreign goods was abandoned, bit by bit in Britain, first in Huskisson's changes, then in Peel's death-blow to the old Corn Laws. Again it is a new idea that overthrows an older one. The idea of Protection was for each nation to secure within its own boundaries the power of supplying all, or nearly all, its own wants. The idea of Free Trade was for each country to do chiefly what it could do best, whether cattle-raising or cotton-weaving, to exchange its surplus cattle or cotton for what it could not easily produce for itself. It was a peace-idea, for it could not work properly in war time ; and we find that the Free Trade leaders, such as Cobden and Bright, were haters of war. It seemed for a while as if the civilised world would follow Britain, and for a long period there was a movement throughout the greater part of Europe towards Free Trade. But after a while the movement set back again, partly because taxing imports is a convenient way of raising money for the State, and partly because other nations feared that they would become merely suppliers of food and raw materials to Britain. They wanted to supply their

Political Economy.

1820's.

1846.

Protection and Free Trade.

1846–60.

own manufactures themselves. One by one as they entered into the stages of the "Industrial Revolution," they found that Britain, by her long start and her abundant supply of coal, could undersell them in nearly all manufactured goods. They returned to Protection to build up industries of their own. This, however, was yet to come. In 1848, ardent Free Traders confidently prophesied that in a few years there would not be a tariff left in Europe.

Free Trade Prophecy.

The new questions of wealth and wages did not separate men exactly into the groups of the older political parties. The working classes, for example, sided with the Liberals in supporting Free Trade, because that meant cheaper food. They were told that it would also mean lower wages, but they found it difficult, at that time, to believe that wages could go any lower. Moreover, they were also being told that wages could never move far from "subsistence level," that is, just enough to live on. But many of the Free Traders were employers and owners of factories, strong supporters of *laissez faire*, enemies to all Parliamentary interference with hours of labour, sweating, or the conditions of work; and here the workers sided with the Tories, who passed some of the early Factory Acts. On the question of Trade Unions, again, the workers found themselves opposed by Liberal and Tory leaders alike. Richard Cobden, a Liberal Free Trader, spoke of Trade Unions as examples of "brutal monopoly and tyranny," and at a later time Lord Salisbury, a Conservative Minister, described them as "cruel organisations." Here was a case where the workers fought both the political parties—though not always at the same time—and on the whole with remarkable success.

Wealth and Birth.

The whole period marks the rise of the middle class to power, at the expense of the noble class; wealth overcomes birth. We see it in the control of Parliament gained by the British middle class in 1832, in the control of France by the *bourgeoisie* under Louis Philippe. And in other countries, though less plainly and less

sharply, the same thing is to be traced, now or a few years later. The middle class, the capitalists, bankers, tradesmen, merchants, are rising into power. The older nobles see it, and regret the ancient times. The new Socialist leaders see it, and neglect kings and nobles to attack their more formidable foes, the men of money.

"Good" and "Bad" People

As we leave these people of 1848, we should remind ourselves that it is folly to label great classes of men as "bad" or "good." Where the world generally calls a body of men banded together for a particular purpose "bad" or "good," as for instance a pirate crew or an ambulance corps, we have something quite different from the "badness" or "goodness" of people whose sincere idea of life is opposed to ours. Of the great groups of men such as are meant by words like Liberal, Conservative, Christian, Buddhist, Free Trader, Protectionist, Catholic, Protestant, Gentry, Middle Class, Working Class, French, Italian, British—of these we cannot say they are simply bad or good, for they are chiefly made up of average men. We are tempted sometimes, because we belong to one or two of these groups, to call the opposite groups bad; but when we do, our grandchildren usually smile at our simplicity. If we get this clear, we can look back upon such a period as 1815–1848, and see the gains and the losses of such a movement as the rise to power of the middle classes, for the faults and virtues of classes are not the same. In Britain, for example, the middle-class Reform Parliaments containing a large number of men with an experience of business or professional work, did as much in five years as their predecessors in twenty. They set a large part of the affairs of the nation in order, and they did it, on the whole, very well. But, as they represented a class of men chiefly devoted to money-making, they permitted great wastage of life and health and strength, more particularly in factories and mines, out of dread that any interference by the Government in matters of trade and labour should check the increase of wealth. They drank in the idea of social freedom as the French Revolutionists drank

in the idea of political freedom, till they could not taste the difference between food and poison. Sometimes, as a witty Frenchman said, they thought they saw a picture of freedom, when in reality there was only a free fox in a free hen-roost.

PART III

1848–1874

THE NATIONS, OLD AND NEW

NATIONAL CONSOLIDATION; PARLIAMENTARISM

CHAPTER XIV

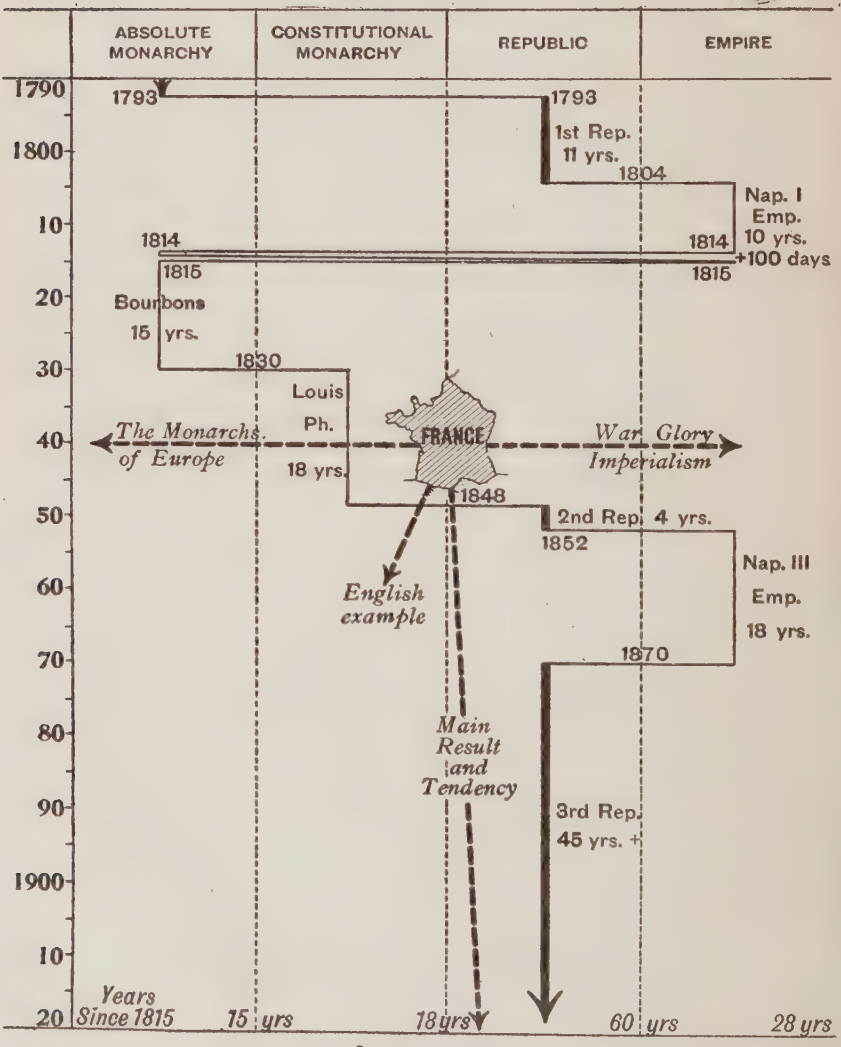
FRANCE, 1848–1870: REPUBLIC, EMPIRE, REPUBLIC

THE diagram on the following page, showing the changes of government in France since the great Revolution, is a bare outline sketching the struggle of a nation to build a new house for herself, to take the place of an ancient building that partly fell to pieces from mere age, and partly was pulled down by the people it cramped rather than sheltered. The story of the changes from 1793 to 1870 may be compared with the story of Britain from 1642 to 1689, the great difference being that the French are fonder of completeness and exactness, in change as in other things, than the British, who are always more inclined to alter and mend an old house than to pull it down and build a new one. Changes in France.

The group of men in Paris who governed France immediately after the Revolution of 1848 were in the main Republicans, and not Socialists. But the great bodies of unemployed and suffering men in the large towns desired something more than a mere change of government. The plans of the Socialists for dealing with poverty, they said to each other, were certainly untried, and might fail; but the Republicans had no plans whatever beyond giving France votes and a President. At the birth of the second Republic, the Socialists of Paris, though few in number, were stronger than the Republicans, for there stood behind them a great body of working men, armed, and flushed with a victorious revolution. It was decided to open National Workshops, and to appoint a Committee, which formed a kind of Labour Parliament. The Committee Republicans and Socialists. *Les Ateliers Nationaux.*

Diagram II

CHANGES OF GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE, 1793 - 1919



dealt with questions of labour, and most of the Socialist leaders were on it. Little enough came of it, for the Republicans allowed the Committee to talk and make plans, while taking care that it should not have money enough for any important changes.

The Government put the scheme of National Workshops into the hands of one of the opponents of Louis Blanc and the Socialists; and whether they intended them to fail or not (some think that such was their intention), fail they did. Louis Blanc's own plan of making co-operative societies, each of one trade, and managed by the workmen, might have failed also; but it was not tried. The National Workshops of 1848 were really relief works. Men of all trades were set to dig ditches and build forts at two francs a day. Their numbers grew amazingly —from 6000 to 110,000 within two months. The pay was halved; there were dismissals and re-arrangements, disputes and quarrels. A National Government, elected by universal suffrage, replaced the governing body of the revolution. It was composed chiefly of Republicans, with a few Monarchists on the one side, a few Socialists on the other. It decided to close the "workshops," and street fighting began at once. Full powers were put into the hands of General Cavaignac and frightful scenes followed. About 16,000 fell in the streets; prisoners were shot; 4000 were transported; the Socialist newspapers were suppressed.

May 1848.

"The Days of June," 1848.

The Assembly drew up a new Constitution, by which France was to be a Republic governed by a single elected Chamber, and an elected President; a few months later the President was elected. The Republicans put forward General Cavaignac; the Socialists, Ledru-Rollin; but by an overwhelming majority the people elected Louis Napoleon Buonaparte, the son of Louis, brother of Napoleon I. That name could still move many hearts in France, and it was for the name that over five millions of Frenchmen cast their votes. Of the man they knew little, but glowing memories of a victorious France were bound up with the name of Napoleon Buonaparte.

Constitution of 1848.

Louis Napoleon, President.

The new President was something of a puzzle to his friends and to his enemies alike, and he remained a puzzle to the end of his career. He believed, as strongly as any Bourbon, that he had a natural right to rule France; he believed in democracy, after his own fashion; in Socialism, after his own fashion; in freedom, in Imperialism, in the improvement of the condition of the poor; in the rights of small nations, and in the spirit of nationality; in attaining peace through war, and in securing democracy by personifying it in one man. He had written a book on "Napoleonic Ideas." He declared himself to be the heir of the Revolution, and of Napoleon I. Most of his life had been passed in exile, but he had made two rather
1836. ridiculous "invasions" of France, once from the Rhine,
1840. and once from England—this second time with a tame eagle, the symbol of Empire. No one quite knew what to make of him; but there was once more a Napoleon at the head of a Republican France, and many thoughtful people in Europe began wondering what would happen.

1849. A Royalist Parliament. The new Assembly, elected a few months later, was as strange a Parliament for a Republic as Napoleon was a President. Two-thirds of the members were Royalists; and one of the first actions of the new Republican Government was to send an army to destroy the Roman Republic set up by Mazzini and Garibaldi, and to restore the rule of the Pope. A new Press Law destroyed most of the
1849. Republican and Socialist newspapers; an Education Law put most of the schools under the control of the clergy;
1850. a Franchise Law took away the votes of three million peasants and working men. Thus much was achieved within two years of the "social revolution" of 1848.

So far, the President and the Assembly had worked together in agreement. But Napoleon had no wish to retire after four years of office, as he should do, according to the Constitution. He asked the Assembly to alter this rule, and was refused. Upon this, he demanded the repeal of the Franchise Law (which in fact he had himself
The *Coup d'état.* 1851. supported), and prepared for a bold act. On the morning

of "Austerlitz Day" (December 2nd), Parisians awoke to find troops posted in the streets, and proclamations on the walls announcing that the Assembly was dissolved, and that a vote of the people (plebiscite, referendum) would be taken for or against a new scheme of government with two Chambers, a President appointed for ten years, and Ministers dependent on the President alone. The bewildered Parisians shortly discovered that all men of any importance who were likely to resist this scheme had been arrested during the night.

Such members of the Assembly as were still free voted to expel the President; upon which they were arrested also. Risings in different parts of Paris followed, and were quickly suppressed. Over 20,000 people were imprisoned, and many of them were transported. Napoleon and the army were in power. Yet when a plebiscite was taken, his action was approved by seven and a half million votes, against half a million. A year later, another plebiscite, by a majority greater still, decided in favour of an Empire, and on the next Austerlitz Day Napoleon was proclaimed as Napoleon III., Emperor of the French. He had been in reality an absolute monarch since the *coup d'état*.

Dec. 2, 1852.

Napoleon III., Emperor.

Napoleon's wonderful success in his appeals to the nation is often mentioned in arguments for or against the Referendum. His chief strength certainly lay in the name he bore, so magical in France. Yet there had been no magic in it when he had made his two attempts at invasion. He was strengthened by the opposition of Republicans and Socialists, Orleanists and Legitimists, to each other, and by the desire of Frenchmen to see a firm and settled government established. But in addition he gave a remarkable example of what could be done by any shrewd ruler or government, in making an appeal to the nation, at a time and on a question carefully chosen in each case.

The Referendum.

The Referendum was not his only method of securing popular support of despotic rule. The right to vote was not limited but extended. Yet it was made difficult for

Methods of Napoleon III.

opponents of the Government to be elected at all, and, when elected, they found themselves in a Chamber which could not make laws, but could only discuss those that the Emperor and his Ministers made; and these discussions had to be held in secret if five of the Emperor's supporters in the Chamber demanded it. The Press was carefully and constantly watched, and the smallest criticism of the Government was followed by a warning. The schools and universities were watched. The Professors were ordered to shave off their moustaches, to take away from their appearance "the last vestiges of anarchy."

It seems strange that a spirited nation like the French should support such a system tamely. Yet it flourished in full vigour for eight years, and lasted, in a milder form, for another ten. But there were good reasons why France accepted Napoleon III. for so long a period; reasons that come to this, in the main, that a change would be difficult, it might be for the worse, and France was tired of change. More exactly, we might put the reasons thus:

Support of Napoleon III.

1. Napoleon's rule on the whole was firm and sound. His own idea was probably that he was ruling the nation for its own good, and at least he kept France in order and encouraged industry.

2. The combats and imprisonments of recent years had removed all the most vigorous Socialist and Republican leaders, by death, imprisonment, or exile.

3. Napoleon favoured the Church party, which gave him its support until he attacked Catholic Austria; and when the Clericals grew cooler, the Emperor won over many of the Liberals by making a few changes likely to please them.

4. The trading and commercial classes found in his rule security and steadiness, always great aids to commerce and manufacture. They cared little, in comparison with this gain, for the loss of political power.

When the Empire fell, it was not through its management of France, but through the failure of its foreign policy, as we shall see. At home, there was a period of increasing prosperity, largely shared by the civilised world, but also

due in part to the action of the Government. Railways were increased threefold in a few years; canals were cut; banks were established, by the help of the State, for country districts and for towns. Hospitals and asylums for the poor were founded. The workers were allowed to form unions, and to declare strikes. Passports were abolished. Reforms. 1864.

The Emperor had not always the support of the country in his enterprises, and at times, as in the case of the Commercial Treaty with Britain, his ideas and wishes were quite against those of the nation. He was a Free Trader, but the French people have always inclined towards Protection, though their political economists are mostly in favour of Free Trade. Napoleon allowed raw materials that were to be manufactured and exported to enter France untaxed. He had materials for shipbuilding admitted free. He lowered the duties on corn and cattle. In every case he was acting against the ideas of most Frenchmen. 1860. Free Trade. 1853–1855.

The Commercial Treaty with Britain was arranged in secret through Richard Cobden, and it aroused furious opposition in France. Both countries were to lower their duties, Britain admitting French silks and "fancy Paris goods" free, and lowering the duty on French wines and spirits, and France admitting British textiles and hardware at lower rates. This treaty marked the beginning of a Free Trade period in Europe. It was followed by a whole series of similar treaties between France and other countries. One of them, between France and the Zollverein, was used by Prussia to keep Austria out of the German Union. Eager Free Traders prophesied that in a few years there would not be a protective tariff left in the civilised world, but they forgot that nations usually wish to be complete, to provide the bulk of their own goods. No country cares, for example, to be for ever a land of corn and sheep, without machines and manufactures of her own. Thus, after a while, the nations built up new tariff walls to keep out the cheap English goods, and the Free Trade wave was followed by a Protectionist wave. 1860. Commercial Treaty.

Foreign Ventures.

The most striking part of Napoleon's policy was in his foreign adventures, of which two were successful—those of the Crimea and Italy; and two were failures—Mexico and Prussia. The last adventure ruined him and the Empire. The wars of the Crimea, Italy, and Germany, we must touch upon in other chapters. Here we may best put them on a thread, so that we may follow the aims of the Emperor, and the thought and feeling of France, as the story develops, through hope and disappointment, glory and disaster. "You have paid dear for glory," said a clever French writer to his country; and he imagined France replying, "Glory is never too dear." When war came in 1914, that writer was an old man, but his first cry was "Make me a soldier!"

Anatole France.

Louis Napoleon was more of a dreamer and thinker, less a man of action, than his more famous uncle. Among the "Napoleonic Ideas" over which he brooded, there was a vision of a great and triumphant French Empire, with the House of Napoleon at its head. Among the facts of his own position there was the need of securing the support of large groups or classes of Frenchmen. The idea and the fact together explain why Napoleon III. brought forward against Russia the ancient French claim to support the Catholic monks in Palestine, as Russia supported the monks of the Greek Church. The Catholic monks, in earlier times, had taken charge of the Holy Places. When they grew careless, the monks of the Greek Church carried on the work; and now this quarrel of rival priests was to be taken up by great nations as an excuse, and made the cause of a war. The real reasons of the nations—France, Russia, Britain, Sardinia, were quite different; they were reasons of national interests. As for Napoleon and his subjects, they foresaw France once more sending her conquering eagles to the East, once more taking her place among the greatest nations. And Napoleon foresaw an answering support from the French Catholics; but in a few years he was to lose the good-will of the Church by his Italian venture.

The East.

Crimea.

For the present, the Crimean War satisfied Napoleon

and France. It was not a very glorious affair, but the French army went through it on the whole with as much credit as fell to any of the armies engaged. Russia was checked, and the disaster of Moscow was to some extent retrieved. But it was an unsatisfactory business, and it did little good to any country except Sardinia.

In Italy, France had already adventured while Napoleon was only a President. It was a French army that destroyed the Republic of Rome, set up by Mazzini and Garibaldi; that restored the Pope to absolute power; that destroyed the rising hopes of Italian patriots. It was an act pleasing to Catholic France, but hateful to Liberal France. Ten years later, French armies set foot once more in Italy, this time to strike a great blow for Italian unity, and to secure for Napoleon the support of the Liberal parties and the antagonism of the French Church. He asked a price for his help; and when it was paid by the cession of Savoy and Nice to France, Italians felt that they owed no debt of gratitude. Glory is not made brighter by the spoils of victory. Italy. 1849. 1859. 1860.

One result of Napoleon's support of Piedmont against Austria was that his power, now more dependent upon Liberal support, became less autocratic. The Press was granted more freedom, and working men were allowed to form trade unions. But the Republicans and the supporters of the Bourbons, little as they loved each other, were ready to join forces against the Government of the Empire. 1864.

The next adventure was the unhappy Mexican affair. It began with an agreement between Britain, France, and Spain, to put pressure upon Mexico (then in its usual state of disorder) to compel reasonable treatment of Europeans in the country. From this Napoleon developed a plan of a French Empire in Mexico; and Britain and Spain at once withdrew. Among Napoleon's dreams there were plans for a great canal across Central America, visions of colonies of the Latin race planted in America, to check and off-set the English colonies; and always, pictures of armies, advancing and conquering under Napoleonic Mexico. The Dream of Empire.

standards—the dream of Imperial conquest, power, rule, that has led on so many men and nations since and before Alexander, and that has ended so often in mere wastage and loss. Such visions beckoned to Napoleon, and to many an ardent Frenchman, from the terraced plains of Mexico.

A French army invaded the country, and, after a
1862. first check, won a victory and announced Maximilian as Emperor of Mexico. This was the brother of the Emperor of Austria. The crown of Mexico had been offered him by Napoleon, and had been accepted. Two years later, when Maximilian landed in the country, he found that many of his new subjects took him for an unwelcome
(1860-1865.) invader. Within another year, when the great Civil War of America came to an end, the United States was able to turn her attention to Mexico, and to call Napoleon's attention to the Monroe Doctrine. The French army was withdrawn, but Maximilian, though he felt he had been deserted by Napoleon, would not leave the country. His wife came to Europe to seek help for him, knowing the danger of her husband's position. She failed, and went
1867. mad. Maximilian was taken prisoner and shot. Success might have gilded such an enterprise, but failure so tragic as this took every spot of brightness from it.

The Empire was hastening now to its terrible close. France was angry and ashamed. There came a slackening of the power of the Court and the Government, prompted by a wish to gain fresh support ; but the chief result was to let loose a flood of criticism, much of it just, most of it violent. The Court advised Napoleon to hark back to absolutism ; he wavered for a while and tried some half-hearted plans ; and then he boldly offered a new Constitution to the popular vote. It was to establish a Government very like that of England with the throne secured
1870. to Napoleon's family. It was accepted by seven and a half millions of votes against one and a half millions. The Empire, confirmed by the voice of the people, seemed now to be more firmly fixed than ever. In six months it was destroyed.

The story of 1870 is told in another place. In that year an Empire went down, an Empire arose. In that year the "soldiers and officials" of Prussia startled the world by the spectacle of a national system working as evenly and as accurately as a clock. In that year France lost two provinces, and found her soul.

CHAPTER XV

ITALY: THE MAKING OF A NATION, 1820–1861

THE story of Italian unity, and especially the story of Garibaldi, is one that thrilled the nations of the time, as they heard it week by week and year by year; and it will move men's hearts as long as the story is told. The first movements, successes, failures, we have already mentioned, and if the tale had ended there, it would have been a poor and sorrowful one, soon to be forgotten. But the end of the tale was told through a trumpet, and its notes rang through the world. To get the whole story clear, we must first recall the part already told. To understand how an Italian thinks of it we must go farther back, to the time when Italy, Rome, was the centre of Western civilisation—that civilisation which has become the Europe, America, Australasia of to-day.

Old Italy.

We see next, as we glance back, the barbarian conquerors from North Europe sweeping in, and a Gothic kingdom of Italy set up. Five hundred years pass; and a Norman Italy arises in the South. When Cressy and Poictiers are being won and lost, we can already see the Italy of 1815 in formation—the Central Papal states, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and North Italy as part of the Holy Roman Empire. Upon this Italy Napoleon came like a storm, and for a while France controlled the whole Peninsula; and we have seen how the Powers rebuilt the Italy that the French broke down.

Napoleon in Italy.

It is a long story, of many races and conquests; but those come into the history of most lands. Two distinct and peculiar things remain in the story of Italy: first,

that here had been the seat of the whole Roman Empire; secondly, that here was and is a famous centre of Christendom.

The people of Italy did not immediately set out, after 1815, to make themselves into a single nation. The movements were chiefly revolts against bad government, made bitterer, except in Piedmont and the Papal states, by a national objection to foreign government. But there was a national spirit, born of memories of a brilliant past, and recently revived by the cry of Liberty that had come from France, by a period of French rule, by such hopes as were stirred when Austria outbade Napoleon by offering independence to Italy when the French were expelled. Nationalism. 1814.

We have seen how Ferdinand of the Two Sicilies, who had publicly promised a Constitution, and privately (to Metternich) promised the contrary, was faced by revolts at Naples and in Sicily. Ferdinand, after swearing to a Constitution, set out to get it ratified, and returned with an Austrian army to restore his absolute power. "King Bomba." 1820. 1821.

As revolt was crushed in Naples, it rose in Piedmont. A national flag was raised (the green, white, and red tricolour), and a cry was lifted up for a united Italy. Victor Emmanuel I. abdicated in favour of Charles Felix, who would have nothing to do with an Italian crusade; and an Austrian army, at Novara, put an end to this first attempt at union. The smaller risings in other Italian states had also failed. Piedmont. 1821. Novara. 1821.

For ten years there was no further move; only plots and counter-plots, Austrian spies and Italian conspirators. Then came the news of the fall of the Bourbons in Paris, and there were risings in the Papal states, in Modena, Romagna, Parma, stirred by the hopes of help from France. But no help came, and Austrian troops suppressed the revolts with little difficulty. When the Austrians left Rome, indeed, the very revolutionaries were glad to recall them, as some protection against the undisciplined soldiers of the Pope. 1830. Revolt and Repression.

Now comes a pause that lasts until the year of revolutions. It is broken only by a few risings in Piedmont and in south Italy; and by the election of Pius IX., the Liberal Pope. But during this pause the work soon to be done was preparing; we must look to the four men whose names together spelt the Italy that our fathers watched in the making: Garibaldi, Mazzini, Cavour, Victor Emmanuel II.—sword and arm, spirit and passion, brain and craft, body and vestment. We shall take them as they enter into the story.

1846.

Makers of Italy.

Mazzini.

Mazzini, a dreamer, plotter, revolutionary, scorned Church and king alike. His party was the society called Young Italy, sprung from the Carbonari; his motto, "Liberty, Equality, Humanity; God, and the Laws of God." Sometimes he added "a sovereign," but his heart was set on a Republic. He did not flinch from justifying the assassination of tyrants. A strange, passionate, impracticable man; we see him feared and hated as a dangerous monster by powerful Governments, while he is teaching a night-school of organ-grinders in London. But the Powers got the British Government to open his letters, and Mazzini left England.

1831.

1844.

Cavour.

When the revolution flamed up once more, in 1848, a passionate speech in favour of a Constitution for Piedmont was made by a short, stout, spectacled man, who was soon to play a great part in Italy—Camillo Cavour. The Constitution was granted; and in the midst of risings all over Italy, Charles Albert declared war on Austria. It seemed as if the Resurrection had come. That was the name (*Risorgimento*) of an Italian party formed by a priest, a count, and a poet, to free Italy. Cavour was conducting a newspaper called *Il Risorgimento*.

Risorgimento.

United Armies.

It was a time not for pens only but for swords, and it seemed that the swords were not to be lacking. From Naples, Tuscany, the Papal states — from all Italy armies marched to help the Piedmontese to drive out the Austrians. Radetsky, the veteran Austrian General, fell back into the Quadrilateral of fortresses; there was

delay, and with delay disaster to Italian hopes. Pius IX., who had begun by setting free the political prisoners at Rome, reforming the Papal armies, granting liberty to the Press, now felt that he was going too far in sending his troops against Austria, the friend and supporter of the Papacy. He withdrew his army, as did Ferdinand of Naples. Charles Albert, the Regent for Charles Felix, was left almost alone, and was defeated at Custozza and crushed at Novara. He resigned in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II., destined to become King of Italy.

1848–1849.

Victor Emmanuel II.

Meanwhile, Mazzini and Garibaldi had set up a Republic at Rome. Once more a foreign force marched in to restore the Pope; but this time it was a French army. Rome was besieged and taken, Mazzini and Garibaldi went into exile, the revolution was stamped out everywhere in Italy. Venice, like Rome, had declared itself a Republic, and when it fell to an Austrian force, after a heroic resistance under Daniele Manin, the last spark of hope seemed to die out. Only the Italy of 1815 remained. Pen and passion and sword alike had failed. The way is clear now, in the ten sullen years that follow, for the brain and craft of Cavour.

Republic of Rome. 1849.

1849. Failure.

1849–1859.

The milestones that marked this period are these: Cavour as Prime Minister; Piedmont's entry into the Crimean War, the Treaty of Paris, and the alliance between Piedmont and France.

1852, 1855, 1856, 1858.

Cavour became Minister of Agriculture in Piedmont, and later, Prime Minister. In a few years he made a series of commercial treaties, improved the finances of the country, developed railways. He made most of the taxes direct; and the taxes were heavy. Liberty, he said, cannot be cheap. His studies in England had made him a Free Trader, and he was one of the first to foretell the repeal of the British Corn Laws.

1852.

His plan of joining France and Britain in the Crimean War aroused fierce opposition. Mazzini, Manin, Garibaldi, would have nothing to do with it. Cavour was bent on securing France as an ally against Austria, and this was his method. His acts showed that he had little

Crimea.

faith in "*Italia fara da se.*" He thought that help was
1856. needed for the work of liberation. At the Treaty of Paris, he took his seat with the Powers to represent little Piedmont, whose troops had shared in the war, and had acquitted themselves well. He spoke with Napoleon III.,
Plombières. 1858. and a little later a secret treaty was made between France and Piedmont. It was a sheer conspiracy. Piedmont was to declare war upon Austria on the first decent excuse that offered, and France would come in. Victor Emmanuel should have all northern Italy, but must give Savoy and Nice to France. Napoleon, aged forty-three, was to marry the daughter of Victor Emmanuel, a girl of sixteen. It is the unpleasantest part of the story of new Italy.

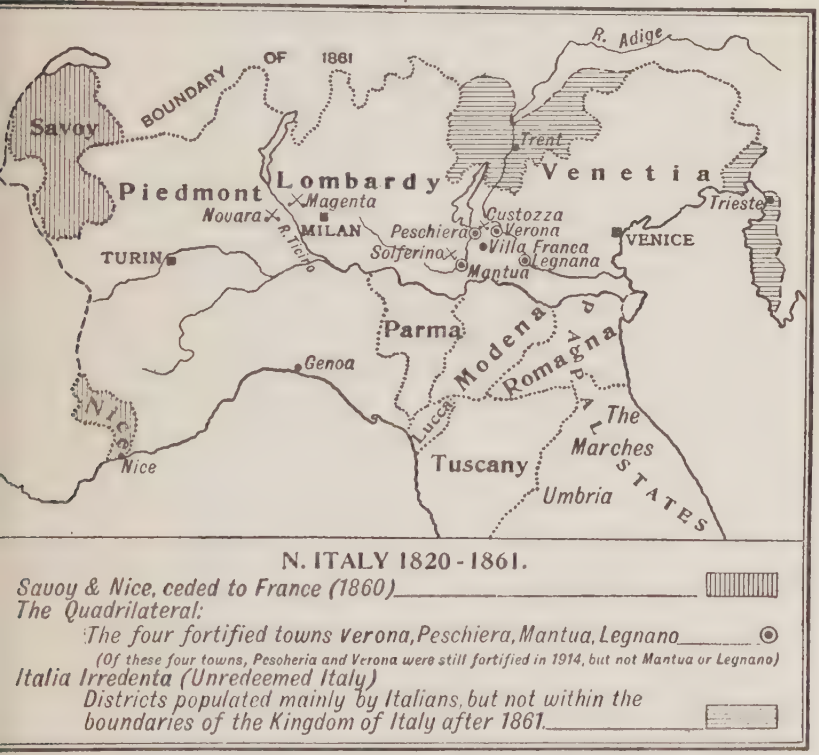
And now came plot and trick, as Cavour goaded Austria into war. Britain, who wanted peace, proposed a Congress which Cavour was ready to accept, if Piedmont was represented in it; but Austria would not hear of that. Finally, Cavour got his excuse: Austria commanded Piedmont to disarm. Piedmont naturally
1859. refused, and war was declared—the War of Liberation.

Austrian War. There are two stages of the war: the first, a swift campaign in Lombardy; the second, Garibaldi's wonderful expedition of "The Thousand"; a statesman's war, and a soldier's.

Napoleon III. in Italy. Once more a French army entered Italy to fight the Austrian; once more there was a Napoleon at its head. A French and Algerian force won a brilliant victory at
Magenta, 1859. Magenta, and a decisive battle at Solferino followed in
Solferino, 1859. the same month (June). Here the Piedmontese and French armies, under Napoleon, met and defeated an Austrian army under Francis Joseph. The battle was a long and costly one, and the final victory was due to the dash and spirit of the French soldiers. A few days later came the surprising news that the two Emperors had
Peace of Villafranca, 1859. made up a peace, without consulting Piedmont. Austria would surrender Lombardy to Napoleon (not to Piedmont; Victor Emmanuel would receive the province as a gift from Napoleon, not as a conquest from Austria). There

was to be a Confederation of Italian states, under the Pope; and Venetia, still retained as an Austrian province, would yet be a part of the Confederation. Lastly, the rulers of Tuscany and Modena, just driven from their thrones by popular insurrections, were to be restored.

Map XI



Victor Emmanuel felt the insult, but he felt, too, that he must swallow it. But Cavour went mad with disappointment and anger. He rushed in fury first to Victor Emmanuel and then to Napoleon. He wanted Piedmont to continue the war alone, which the king told him was sheer madness. Cavour, still in a blaze of anger, resigned, and returned worn out to Turin. There he saw Kossuth, and said to him: "This treaty will

never be executed. If necessary, I will turn conspirator, I will become a revolutionist."

Napoleon's Change.

But why, after winning five victories, did Napoleon III. so quickly come to terms with Francis Joseph? The change was certainly a sudden one, but there were strong reasons for it. Prussia was gathering her armies on the Rhine; Russia was frowning; Austria had a quarter of a million fresh troops in Venetia and to the west of Vienna; the French Catholics disliked the war; there was a chance of an Italy being created, uncontrolled by France, Austria, or the Pope—which was not what Napoleon desired; and in England, though the people were pro-Italian, the Queen and Court were rather pro-Austrian, and both could easily become anti-Napoleon. The victories had all been on one side, it is true, but some of them had long wavered in the balance. The next move would be a withdrawal of the Austrian army into the Quadrilateral to await reinforcements. Napoleon did not care to enter upon a long siege of Mantua or Peschiera, far from Paris, with storm clouds gathering on the Rhine, and perhaps, across the Channel also. Lastly, the nerves of both the Emperors had been shaken by the awful scenes at Solferino after the battle. Each side had lost about twenty thousand men.

1859.

The Peace of Villafranca was put into a definite written treaty at Zurich; but for all that, Cavour's words came true. The only part of the treaty that was actually carried out was the addition of Lombardy to

Central Italy.

Piedmont. Tuscany, Modena, Parma, flatly refused to have their Habsburg rulers back, and who was to compel them? Not France, for Napoleon had promised there should be no compulsion; nor Austria, for she had no wish for another war just yet. Meanwhile, Piedmont secretly encouraged them to revolt, encouraged their

1859.

demands to come under Victor Emmanuel. Britain was talking aloud, through Lord Palmerston, recently in office again. There must be no Austrian or French armies, he declared, used to force rulers upon the Central Italian states; and he added bluntly, after his manner,

"The annexation of the Duchies to Piedmont will be an unfathomable good to Italy."

Now indeed even Cavour might say with all his heart: "*Italia fara da se*"; and he did say it. He had recovered his hopes and his temper, and very soon he was back in office. His first problem was to bring the Central states under Victor Emmanuel. For the present they were ruling themselves by hastily-formed governments with Piedmontese help. They were quite determined not to have their Habsburgs back again. When the Grand Duke of Tuscany, after threatening his capital with artillery, was driven out of Florence, his late subjects told him cheerfully that they would meet again in Paradise. Cavour dared not annex the states, especially as one of them, Romagna, was part of the Pope's possessions, without the consent of Napoleon. For this consent Napoleon demanded the price already mentioned in the Plombières agreement—Savoy and Nice. The price was paid. A vote was taken in Savoy and Nice, for and against annexation to France; and in Tuscany, Modena, Parma, Romagna, on union with Piedmont; and in all cases the votes went for annexation. For Savoy, we must remember that it had recently been a part of France for over twenty years, though the people of one portion, Upper Savoy, would have preferred union with Switzerland. Nice was largely Italian, and Garibaldi, himself a "Nizzard," cried out bitterly against the change. And now Victor Emmanuel was king over the greater part of North Italy. Austria still held Venetia in the north; the Pope ruled in Central Italy; Francis II., the son of "King Bomba," in Sicily. Cavour had nearly done his work; in the scenes that follow, we must fix our eyes on Garibaldi.

1860. Cavour and Central Italy.

Savoy and Nice.

(1792–1814.)

1859.

After the revolts of 1830, Garibaldi fled to South America, and fought there for the new republics then forming. The stir of '48 brought him back, and he had his share in making the short-lived Roman Republic. He escaped with difficulty to Venice, his wife dying of hardships on the way. Long years followed, of toil in

Garibaldi.

1849.

America, of wanderings on many seas—which included one short visit to England, with a warm welcome that he never forgot. Finally, as it seemed, he settled on the little island of Caprera, tending his farm and his goats.

1859. When France joined Piedmont in war upon Austria, Garibaldi was given command of a force of "Hunters of the Alps," which did good service. It was here that "Garibaldi's Hymn" was first sung in war. Next he was in Tuscany, making Cavour uneasy. For Garibaldi was neither politician nor statesman, and might at any time offend both France and Austria by invading the Pope's territories. He was recalled, and went back to his island. Now comes the famous story of The Thousand, one of those heroic, boyish, "impossible" tales that make men cheer and laugh and rejoice in the tingling of life.

The Story of The Thousand, 1860. One May morning two little steamers slipped out of Genoa, bearing Garibaldi and eleven hundred badly-armed men, to invade Sicily. There was a rising against "King Bombino" the son of "Bomba," and Crispi, the leader of the Sicilian revolutionaries, had asked for Garibaldi's help, and for the magic of his name. Cavour could give no open help, but he saw to it that Garibaldi escaped in time. At a Tuscan port, some poor arms were taken in, and a hundred men landed for another expedition. The Thousand sailed on, south.

Garibaldi found British warships at Marsala, as well as Neapolitan vessels sent out to capture him. By the time the British explained that it was not their business to interfere, Garibaldi had landed his men. He marched

Calatafimi. direct to Palermo. At Calatafimi his way was barred by a force fourfold his own in strength. The Thousand charged up a hill, losing heavily. The heat was terrible; many fell, exhausted. Under the last terrace three hundred crouched, the bullets singing over their heads. "Here we make Italy or die," said Garibaldi. A stone hit him. "They are short of ammunition," he cried, "Forward!" With sword and bayonet, three hundred men charged at 2000 posted on the hill-top. An hour

later, they lay there panting, watching their enemy in retreat.

Then, after mountain marches, doublings, ruses, they (with Sicilian allies) drew near to Palermo, with its forts and its garrison of 20,000 men. Already they had begun to be called Red Shirts, but the most uniform thing about them was their rags. They crept down one night, stormed a bridge, and the next night they held all Palermo but the Palace. The garrison capitulated, and sailed for Sicily. The Garibaldians watching their departure—now reduced to four hundred—had not four good muskets among them. Palermo.

The amazing Red Shirts now crossed the Straits and marched on Naples. Francis II. had yet a force of 100,000 men, but the shout of "Garibaldi" that rang through Italy shook the Naples Government to collapse. The Red Shirts and their new followers won another victory, but one more costly and more doubtful, at Volturno. Mazzini cried: "To Rome!" but Garibaldi hesitated. A Neapolitan army still lay on his flank at Gaeta. Naples. 1860.

Cavour, who had been rubbing his hands in secret joy, now became anxious; for if the Pope were threatened, the Catholic Powers might intervene—and there were French troops in Rome. Garibaldi might take Rome, and bring Piedmont into conflict with Napoleon. He might push on to Venice, and draw an Austrian army into Italy. Cavour urged Victor Emmanuel to take the field. Rome and the immediate neighbourhood could be left to the Pope; Naples and the rest of the Papal territories could vote themselves under Victor Emmanuel if they wished it. The plan was carried out. The king marched south, defeated the Papal forces, and joined hands with Garibaldi. Capua was taken, and then Gaeta, the last Bourbon stronghold. The king offered money and honours. Garibaldi declined them, and asked instead to be lieutenant-general of the new kingdom for a year. This being declined, he asked that his soldiers should be well treated, and sailed to Caprera, as poor as he had left it. Rome. Garibaldi and the King.

A Parliament met at Turin, with representatives from all Italy except Rome and Venetia, and Victor Emmanuel II. 1861. "King of Italy."

was declared King of Italy. A few months later, Cavour died, speaking at the last of "a free church in a free state." His work was so far done that any one might bring it to its end. Like Garibaldi, he gave his life and energy to a great work, and lived to see it come near completion. For that, we may fairly put aside his faults, and Garibaldi's too. The real man in both these men was the Italian whose heart was in his work for Italy. They were not gods to be worshipped, but men who did fine work finely.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PRUSSIAN GERMANY, 1417–1871

When we turn from the making of Italy to the making of the Germany we know, we are naturally inclined to compare the one with the other. In both, we find statecraft and the sword ; in both, a growing spirit of nationalism. But in the case of Germany, there is no foreign enemy to be expelled, there is no Garibaldi, no Mazzini, or only such as Mazzini could have scorned ; and where Piedmont called to Italy in the name of Freedom, Prussia called to Germany in the name of Power.

Two threads, at least, we must take up—those of Prussia and of the central German states ; and they run far back. We must pass the earlier parts of them very rapidly through our hands, and as much as possible side by side with each other.

Growth of Prussia.

We see Prussia emerging from the Mark of Brandenburg, round Berlin, in the fifteenth century, at the time of Agincourt and of Jeanne d'Arc. Here the House of Hohenzollern established itself, and from the plains around Berlin its Electors made annexations and conquests. Electors grew to be kings, and kings became emperors. The title of king was adopted from an early acquisition, East Prussia, a district then ruled by the Teutonic Knights. The inhabitants were the Pruzzi, a Lithuanian race, near relatives of the Russians. The conquering knights and the conquered Slav Pruzzi were welded with Brandenburg into the Prussia of the Hohenzollerns, a vigorous, restless state that fought its way through the centuries, constantly growing. Frederick the Great took from Austria the valu-

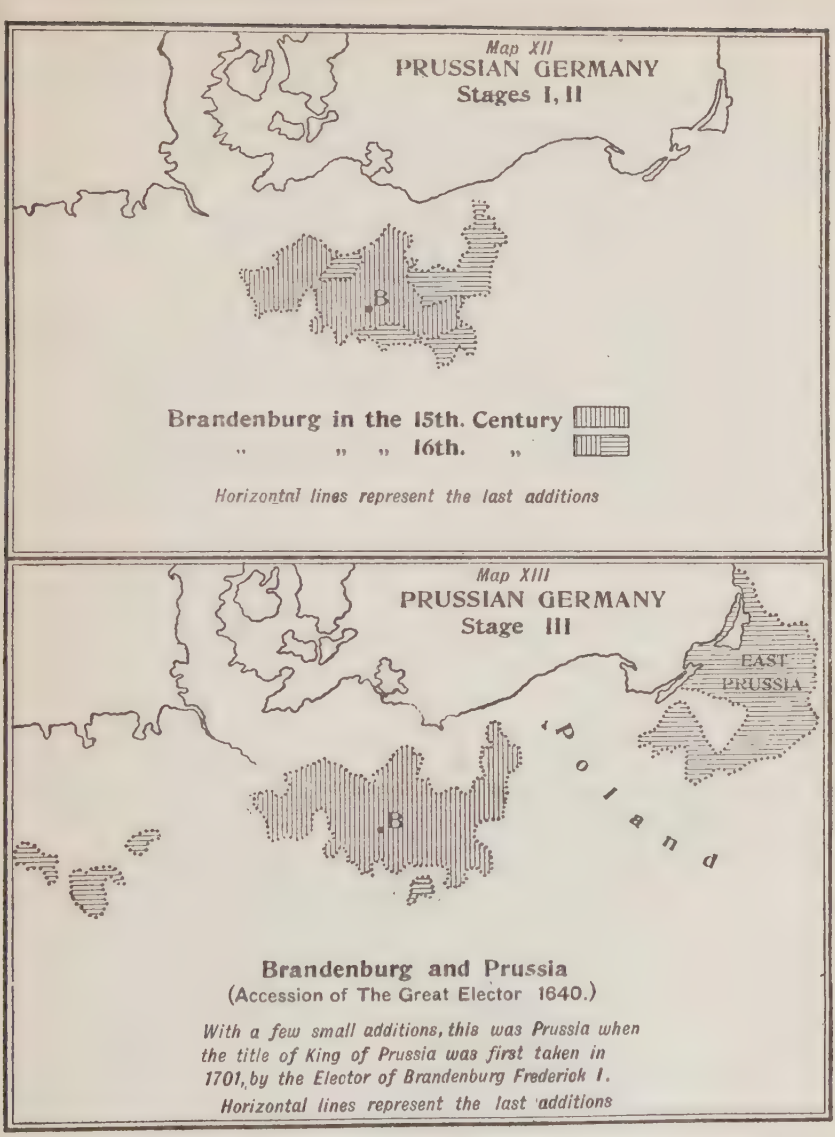
1417.

1701.

able province of Silesia, now a great industrial region.
1740–42. At the first partition of Poland, he took West Prussia for
1772. his share, so linking up most of his territories into one piece. In 1815, the Prussian kingdom was once more divided into two pieces, but they were larger pieces now: Rhenish Prussia and the dominions of Frederick the Great.
1866. They were united by the annexation of Hanover, Hesse, Schleswig, and Holstein.

While in the north, the Prussia of the Hohenzollerns was growing and conquering, in the south the Habsburgs had established themselves at Vienna. Between the
1278. Habsburg and the Hohenzollern lay the patchwork of the three hundred states, marks, bishoprics, that made Germany. For the most part, the people of these lands were quiet, inoffensive folk, good craftsmen, good musicians, hearty eaters, patient under the rule of their aristocratic lords, whether fatherly or stepfatherly; looking to Vienna for leadership, and to their hereditary ruler for immediate orders. As the nineteenth century passes, we see them grow restless, like other peoples of Europe. Some of them ask for Constitutions. Most of them have a sense of the coming clash between Vienna and Berlin, and their sympathies are with Vienna. But it is difficult to get at their feelings and desires, for all power, all action, is in the hands of the rulers of the many states.

In the 19th Century. The desire for unity, the craving to make themselves into a German nation, moved the people of lands north of the Alps as it moved the Italians of the south. There had never been an Italian nation, or a German nation, as we understand the word. There had only been the old
German Unity. Roman Empire, the rule of Popes, the Holy Roman Empire. The new craving was a desire of people who felt themselves one, to make themselves one. Other feelings and movements of the time were mingled with this desire for unity. There was the new pride in the German language, coming from the writings of Goethe, Schiller, and a host of poets and writers. It was not only that they became famous throughout Europe; it was also because they wrote in the German language and not in French


Map XII
PRUSSIAN GERMANY
Stages I, II
B
Brandenburg in the 15th. Century
" " " 16th. "
Horizontal lines represent the last additions
Map XIII
PRUSSIAN GERMANY
Stage III
EAST
PRUSSIA
POLAND
B
Brandenburg and Prussia
(Accession of The Great Elector 1640.)
With a few small additions, this was Prussia when the title of King of Prussia was first taken in 1701, by the Elector of Brandenburg Frederick I.
Horizontal lines represent the last additions

or Latin, as most of the earlier German writers had done. There was also the German Liberal movement, which represented the ideas of the French Revolution in Germany, the ideas of freedom and self-government. As in Italy, the reform party was also a union party; but the union of Germany was not chiefly the work of reformers or Liberals. It came, as in Italy, in the steps of the growth of a royal house—here the Prussian (or Brandenburg) House of Hohenzollern, as there the House of Savoy. But it did not come as a liberalising force.

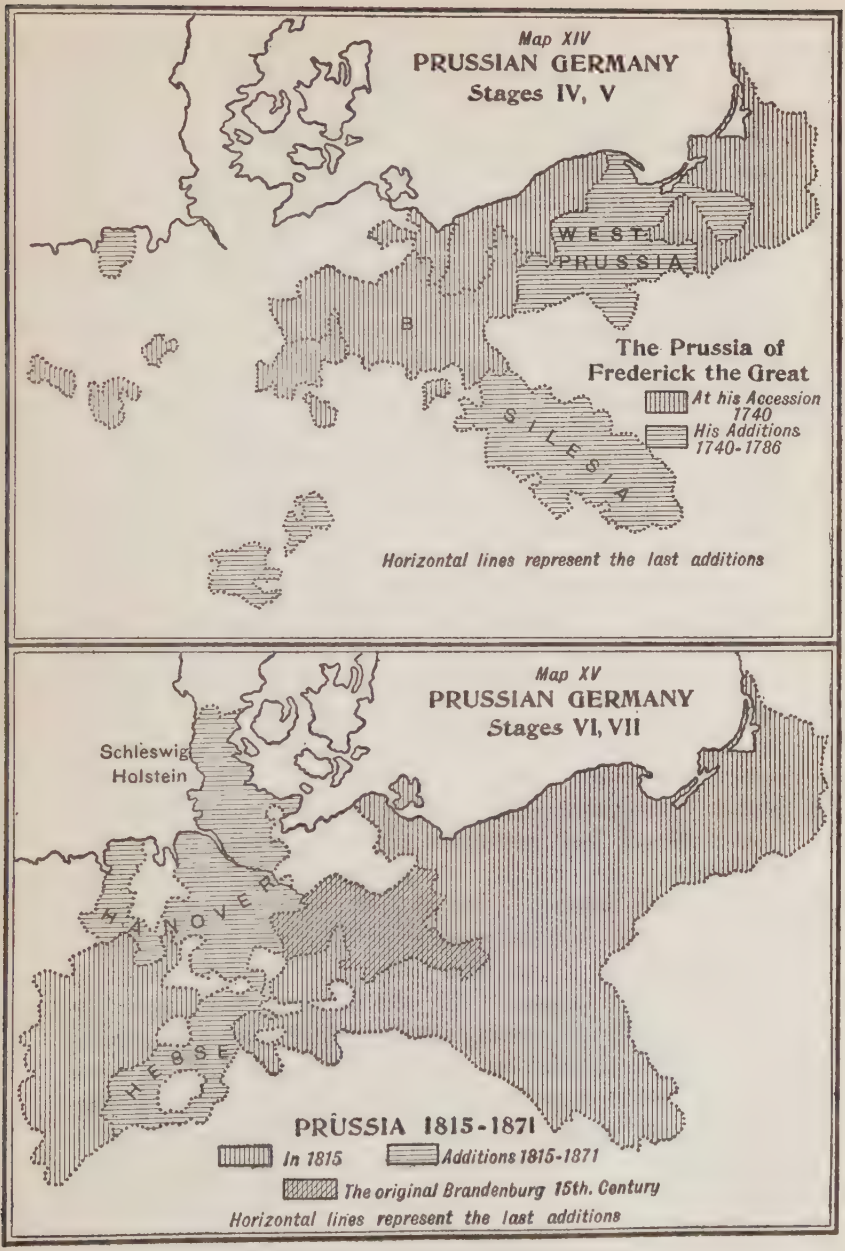
Many Germans still looked to Vienna as the natural German centre, but Vienna ruled over a territory that was much less than half German. Since Prussia had annexed (1740.) Silesia, Berlin had ruled over a larger number of German-speaking people than did any other state; and since then she had gained the Rhine provinces. Vienna was too busy ruling her Italian provinces, her Czechs, Magyars, Poles (though Prussia also had Poles), to become the head of a movement purely German. Yet the Emperor at Vienna was still the head of the German Confederation. We can see a struggle preparing between Prussia and Austria for the leadership of whatever new German nation or German Empire might be formed.

Vienna and German Unity.

As we take up the threads where we left them in 1848, they seem to lead to a war between these two states. The 1848. Frankfort Parliament, which we left talking, nearly talked itself to death. Its work was to form a plan for the central government of the German Confederation, to take the place of the useless and backward Diet. But the clever writers and professors who were the most active members of the Parliament produced too many plans, and made too many clever speeches against each other's plans. In the end, the Parliament elected the Austrian Archduke John as the head of the new German Union. He received the powers 1848. of the old Diet, which now disappeared.

Frankfort Parliament.

A new German Government was now in existence, but The First Attempt at Union. to make it real was another matter. The princes and rulers of the German states flatly refused to obey it. Austria put forward a plan for a new Germany, which


Map XIV
PRUSSIAN GERMANY
Stages IV, V
WEST PRUSSIA
B
SILESIA
The Prussia of Frederick the Great
At his Accession 1740
His Additions 1740-1786
Horizontal lines represent the last additions
Map XV
PRUSSIAN GERMANY
Stages VI, VII
Schleswig
Holstein
HANOVER
HESSE
PRUSSIA 1815-1871
In 1815
Additions 1815-1871
The original Brandenburg 15th. Century
Horizontal lines represent the last additions

would include the Liberal idea of delegates from all the German states, but so arranged as to give Austria the strongest voice. By this time there had appeared a "Great Germany" party, whose aim was to make a State that should take in all German-speaking peoples from the Tyrol to the Baltic, and a "Little Germany" party that wanted to keep out the Austrian Germans. Prussia used her whole strength for this second party, and she triumphed. The Parliament offered the title of Emperor of the Germans to the King of Prussia, Frederick William IV. But Frederick refused to accept "a crown of mud and wood" from a Parliament. Only he himself, with other German princes, he said, had the right to offer such a crown. Part of the Parliament then cried out for a German Republic. Many states withdrew their delegates, and the remaining Parliament was forcibly dissolved. There was an attempt at a revolution; a Prussian army marched to Frankfort, and the attempt at a German Union ended. The way was clear for a Prussian Union.

1849.

Failure.

The Second Attempt.

While Austria was still in difficulties in Italy and Hungary, Frederick William proposed to form a Union with the North German states, and summoned another Parliament, which accepted the Prussian plan. Saxony and Hanover stood out, and they were joined by other states when Austria freed herself from her own difficulties. The motto of the Austrian Minister, Schwartzenberg, was "Humiliate Prussia, then destroy her," and the question of the North German Union seemed to give an opportunity to exercise it. There were in fact several points of difference, but they all centred upon this, that Austria was determined to support the old German Confederation, with herself as the guiding spirit, while Prussia was aiming at a new German Union, controlled from Berlin. Austria had recovered herself very quickly after the disturbances of 1848, and she was strengthened by Russia. Nicholas had put down the Hungarian rising, and was inclined to support the new Austrian Emperor. War seemed likely to break out. Austria spoke in a tone of command; and suddenly Frederick William flinched, and gave way at

Erfurt Parliament. 1850.

all points. It was a complete Austrian triumph, and Prussia felt it as a bitter defeat. For a generation afterwards, Prussians spoke of it as the humiliation of Olmutz. Olmutz. 1850.

The early years of the restored Austrian power were years of reaction. Control of the whole empire was more than ever centred in Vienna. The revolution of 1848 had broken the power of the nobles, and that power was not restored. It passed into the hands of the Emperor, his Ministers, and his officials. The German language was made compulsory, the promises of 1848 were revoked, the country was kept under military control. Later, an alliance was made with the Vatican—this was the "Concordat." The Church was left under the control of Church law only, and had full charge over education. The bishops, as if in return, declared against all revolutions, attempts at securing liberties, and national movements. Nationality, they said, was a relic of paganism and of the Tower of Babel. So the Austrian Government, feeling itself secure, stopped the clock of progress, and rested. But a rude interruption was soon to come. Concordat. 1855.

Frederick William IV. was succeeded in Prussia by William I., and the new king appointed for his chief Minister Otto von Bismarck, who, more than any man, was the maker of modern Germany. Bismarck was a grimmer and a more resolute man than any of those who helped to make Italy. Not without reason was he called, at a later time, "Old Blood and Iron." 1861. Bismarck.

In 1859, speaking of the Union of Germany, he said, "We should be unable to avoid a serious contest, a contest which could only be settled by blood and iron. In order to secure our success in this, the deputies must place the greatest possible weight of blood and iron into the hands of the King of Prussia, in order that according to his judgment he might throw it into one scale or the other." This was the man. King William had many doubts about the results of a policy of the sword. "I can perfectly well see where all this will end," he said to Bismarck. "Over there, in front of the Opera House, under my windows, they will cut off your head, and mine a little "Blood and Iron."

while afterwards." He was thinking of Charles I. and Strafford, and of other like cases, as Bismarck rightly guessed. But Bismarck was quite ready to risk his own head, and many other heads. "Well, what then, Sire?" he asked, coolly enough (*Et après, Sire?*) "*Après* indeed; we shall be dead," answered the king. "Yes, then we shall be dead," said Bismarck unmoved, "but we must all die sooner or later, and how can we perish more honourably? I, fighting for my king's cause, and your Majesty sealing with your own blood your rights as king by the grace of God." The last phrase is not accidental. It holds the religion of Hohenzollern, Habsburg, Bourbon, and many other kingly houses besides. It has been written in blood, washed out by blood, in many a page of history.

The first steps in the career of victory which Prussia was now to enter, had already been taken. This was the improvement, increase, and strengthening of the Prussian army. It had begun when William was regent. It was pressed forward when he became king. A strong Liberal party grew up in Prussia, with a majority in Parliament. This party opposed the military schemes of William and Bismarck; Parliament refused supplies of money. But William was a true Hohenzollern. He took little heed of Parliaments. Whether Parliament granted money or not, it was taken, and the new army grew in strength. A conflict seemed likely to come, one of king against Commons, as in our own Civil War; for the Upper House stood with the king.

1859–62. The Prussian Army.

The first use made of the army was in the affair of the Duchies; Holstein, where the people were mostly German, and Schleswig, where those in the south were German. The Danish kings made some rather foolish attempts to make Danes of these German subjects, but nothing serious occurred until the accession of King Christian IX., when Schleswig was declared formally annexed to Denmark. The Diet ordered German troops to march into Schleswig.

The Holstein Affair.

1863.

Bismarck now began his moves. He got Austria to join him in demanding that Denmark should abandon

her plan of annexation, and within two days. This, as he well knew, was an impossibly short time. It was a trick played again, in 1914, upon Serbia. In two days, Prussia and Austria declared war in defence of the Treaty of London; for in fact Denmark was proposing to ignore that treaty. The Danes were easily defeated, and by an agreement that was made, Austria was to govern Holstein, and Prussia Schleswig.

(Compare p. 279.)

(1852.)

Gastein Agreement, 1865.

Bismarck was now preparing for a war with Austria. He secured the neutrality of Napoleon III. by hinting at Prussia's support of an extension of French territory, but there was nothing written. With the new Italy he made a definite treaty. If war came within three months, Italy was to join in an attack upon Austria, and was to receive Venetia. The next step was to secure the war. It was to be made, by agreement, upon a question of the German Confederation.

1865.

1866.

Bismarck's opponents at home were the Prussian Liberals. These he suddenly amazed by bringing forward a Liberal reform. He proposed a German Parliament, elected by universal suffrage. Meanwhile, the tension between Austria and Prussia, now facing each other on the question of leadership (never openly stated), grew daily worse. Austria proposed that they should both disarm. William I. agreed, and Bismarck was in despair. But he got the Prussian king to insist that Austria must disarm on the Italian frontier also—which he knew Austria dared not do. With her refusal came war. The chief German states joined Austria, for they feared Prussia most.

The war was amazingly short. It was declared on June 18th. Prussia's victory was secured on July 3rd. While one army prevented the Hanoverians from joining forces with South Germany or Austria, three others crossed the frontier of Bohemia, so as to meet in one great force. The Austrians tried to prevent the junction, but only succeeded in giving a slight check. At the battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, the Prussians won a great victory. Their plans were better laid than those

Austro-Prussian War.

Königgrätz. 1866.

of the Austrians—they had been thought out long before; their armies were better trained; their troops were better armed. At the beginning of the battle, the Austrians had more men in action; at the end, the more important time, the Prussians. For half a day the advantage seemed to be with the Austrians, but the arrival of the Crown Prince of Prussia turned the scale. The Prussians, armed with a breech-loading "needle-gun," which they had used against the Danes, had such an advantage over the Austrians in rapidity of fire that other nations, beginning with Britain and France, adopted breech-loaders.

Meanwhile, the Austrians had already won a victory over the Italian army at Custozza, and shortly afterwards
1866. the Italian fleet was badly beaten at Lissa in the Adriatic. But these were barren victories for Austria. Vienna lay open to the victorious Prussian army.

To Vienna, William was eager to march, but Bismarck said "No." The shrewd statesman did not want to have a vengeful and embittered Austria on Prussia's flank when the next enterprise was ripe. For he was not yet at the end of his plans. Moreover, Napoleon and Alexander II. were both inclined to mediate, and perhaps to go further. The Emperor of Austria gave the unconquered Venetia to Napoleon III., as he had given Lombardy. Prussia was triumphant, but there were still grave possibilities. So there was no triumphal
1866. march into Vienna. The Treaty of Prague was signed, and Europe realised that Prussia had become a power fit to cross swords with the strongest nations. The old German Confederation disappeared; and instead of an Austrian Germany, there was a Prussian Germany, formed into a new North German Confederation. It
North German Confederation. contained all the German states north of the Austrian frontier, and of these Prussia was overwhelmingly the greatest. She annexed Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, and Frankfort, thus joining up her Rhine provinces with eastern Prussia. Venetia fell to Italy, leaving only a few small territories of Italian people outside the Italian

kingdom. As for Austria, she must look to the south and east, said Bismarck.

Victory and the German Liberals.

Now was the hour of danger and temptation for all those in Prussia—and there were many—who had opposed Bismarck's military preparations, his defiance of Parliaments, his "Blood and Iron" policy. The temptation was too strong for many of the German Liberals. Thrilled by the glory of conquest, "drunk with sight of power," they cheered the king, Bismarck, Moltke, Von Roon, whom they would certainly have hooted had failure come instead of success. A few of the old Liberals continued their opposition, but the bulk of them formed a new party, the National Liberals, who were more Prussian than Liberal. Such opposition as Bismarck might now expect would come from two small and important groups, one of them dwindling—the old Liberals, and the other destined to grow amazingly—the new Socialists. But for the present they were both of little account.

Liberals and Socialists.

France and Prussia.

Prussian Germany, however, was still but half made. Another step was needed, and again it was a step into war. But while it is quite certain that Bismarck wanted war with France, it is just as certain that there were many on both sides of the Rhine who desired it. Napoleon III. wavered, but his wife, the Empress Eugénie, was resolved on war. Above all, the people of the great towns, and specially the people of Paris and Berlin, were constantly stirred and excited by their newspapers, constantly told that their country was insulted by its neighbour, constantly moved to hatred and suspicion of each other. A newspaper may be honourably patriotic, or it may make a trade of patriotism, and when it does, it makes a very dirty trade of it. This was the first war in which the Press played a great part, for ill and for good.

Newspapers.

Causes of the War of 1870.

The real causes of the war were the ambitions of Prussia and its rulers; the alarm of France at the growth of Prussia's power; the aims of Bismarck; the desire of the Empress Eugénie to secure the Empire to her

son by a successful war, and to see the Catholic France give check to Protestant Prussia ; the unsteady policy of Napoleon III. The civilised world has generally and rightly put the chief blame upon Bismarck, because the war was deliberately and coolly planned by him, as his own writings show ; and because if one excuse or method had failed to bring about a war, he would undoubtedly have prepared another.

The Spanish Crown and the Ems telegram.

The war was actually brought about by a slight thing ; wars often are when strong feelings or interests work upon nations. The crown of Spain was thrice offered to a German prince, Leopold of Hohenzollern, and was declined. When it was offered a fourth time, Leopold was ready to accept it, if William I. of Prussia approved. France was aflame with anger at the prospect of so close a union between the thrones of Prussia and of Spain, and demanded that Leopold should withdraw. He did so, and the affair seemed settled. The French ambassador asked William I. to promise that Leopold should never again be brought forward as a candidate for the throne of Spain. William I. declined to give any further answer. News of this was sent to Bismarck in a telegram, which he altered before sending it to be published. It can still be disputed whether his alterations were of any importance, but Bismarck's aim, as he tells the story himself, was to make war certain.

Unready France.

An unready France, led by an Emperor in weak health, a high-spirited Empress, and Ministers who entered the war, as one of them said : " with a light heart," was about to send its brave soldiers, ill-prepared, ill-equipped, ill-led, against the victors of Königgrätz ; against a nation hammered into solidity by war, trained for war, organised for war. It was the beginning of a tragedy whose shadow lay upon France for nearly fifty years. But all this, now so plain, was far from the thoughts of the crowds in Paris that shouted " *A Berlin !* "

Campaign of 1870.

Three German armies were gathered together behind the frontier of Lorraine, filling the whole line from Luxemburg to the Rhine (near Karlsruhe). The French

forces were placed less simply, some on the frontier, some at the fortresses of Metz and Strasburg. One of these French armies opened the war by advancing against a small German force, and defeating it, but nothing of importance was gained by the victory, as it was not followed up. The first important move was the advance of the third German army under the Crown Prince, from the Rhine valley into Alsace. In this army were the Bavarian and South German troops. Napoleon had hoped to the last that the South German states would declare for France against Prussia. It was but one of his many errors. The Crown Prince with nearly 200,000 men drove back General Douay's frontier army of about 12,000, and attacked MacMahon's army, 50,000 or less, at Wörth, with his leading divisions of about 100,000 men. Here, as in all the battles of the war, the French fought with the dash and courage of their race. As in all the battles of importance, they were outnumbered in men and in guns. To them was the empty glory of courage — and defeat. Meanwhile, the other German armies had advanced. Another isolated French army, fighting splendidly, was outnumbered and thrown back.

Saarbrucken. 1870. Aug. 4.

Weissenburg. 1870. Aug. 6.

Spicheren. 1870. Aug. 6.

The shock of the battles was felt through all Europe. In Paris, the Empress Eugénie took control of affairs. In the field, Napoleon resigned his command to Bazaine, at Metz, where about 200,000 troops were gathered. They were kept here too long, for the first and second armies crossed the Moselle, faced about, and cut off Bazaine's line of communication from Metz. At Gravelotte, Bazaine endeavoured to break through the barrier. He came near to success, but he failed to grasp it. Twenty thousand Germans, twelve thousand French, lay in the field around Gravelotte and St. Privat, when Bazaine fell back into Metz. There he was besieged, and there, two months later, he surrendered with 180,000 men.

Gravelotte. 1870. Aug. 18.

Fall of Metz.

Napoleon was now at Chalons, with MacMahon and an army of 150,000. MacMahon resolved, wisely, to fall back on Paris, but orders came from the Empress to

relieve Bazaine. A dispatch from Metz, at the same time, said that Bazaine was prepared to break out and join the Emperor and MacMahon. The army marched to Rheims, then towards the Meuse. On the march a vision of its madness came to MacMahon, but the orders from Paris were repeated. Napoleon counselled disobedience, but MacMahon, though with little hope, continued his march. His army, tired and dispirited, reached Sedan. "Now," said Von Moltke, "we have them in a trap." The Germans closed in on every side, and from the heights about the town a frightful fire was concentrated on the doomed army. In two days, the Emperor, with 80,000 men, surrendered.

Sedan. 1870. Sept. 1-2.

The war was now decided, but not ended. Before the end of that month, begun so ill for France, the Empress Eugénie was an exile in England, the Empire at an end, the Third Republic established in France, and Paris besieged by German troops. Forty-four years later, when French and British armies fell back on Paris from Namur and Mons, the terrible memory and the lessons of 1870 must have swept over the minds of many Frenchmen: "Metz, Sedan, Paris—a fortified town is a death-trap for an army—Metz, Sedan, Paris."

Third Republic.

(1914.)

The wonderful rally of the south and west of France, under the direction of Gambetta, who escaped from Paris in a balloon; the long, heroic defence of the capital; the French victory at Orleans—these were of no avail to turn defeat to success. At Bordeaux the terms of peace were fixed, and at the Treaty of Frankfort they were made final. Prussia took Alsace and Lorraine, and France was to pay £200,000,000.

1871. Frankfort.

In the last days of the war, Paris witnessed three strange scenes. One, that stung sharpest at the time, was the least in significance—the march of the German troops through Paris. Only six months had passed since those streets had rung with the cry of "To Berlin!" Another was strange because it was at Versailles, in the great palace of the French Grand Monarch, that William I. of Prussia was proclaimed the German Emperor. The

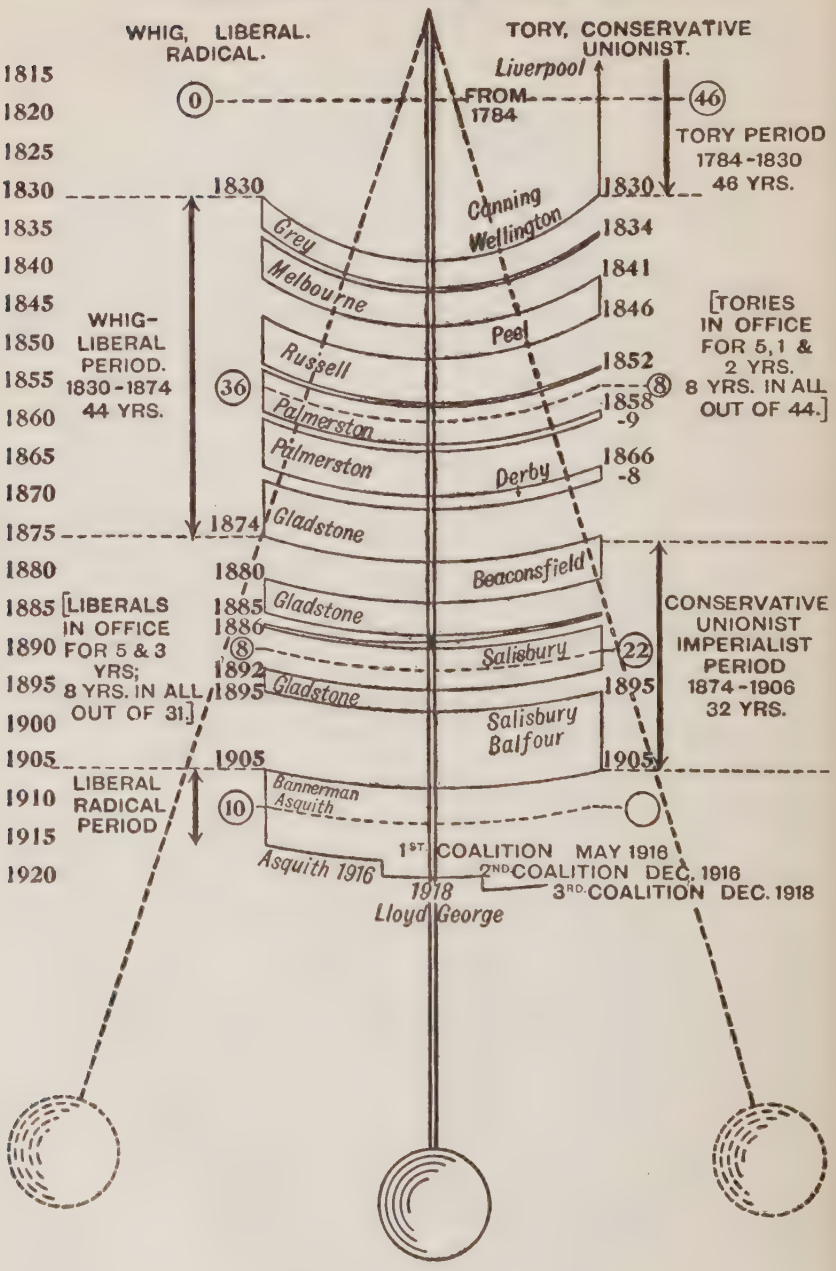
German Empire, he declared, was now re-established; but indeed it was a new Empire of German states, very different from the Holy Roman Empire of older days: it was a Prussian Germany that was established. The German Empire.

The third of these strange events was the swift rise and fall of the Paris Commune. The governing body of France for the time being was the Assembly that had arranged for peace. The majority of its members were Royalists, who dreamt of restoring the Bourbons. The rest were for the most part Republicans. Against both there now arose in Paris, the Communists, who had views somewhat like those of the followers of Louis Blanc in 1848. They declared that Paris and the great towns should be self-governing; of the country districts they seemed to have thought little. Most of the National Guard joined them, and civil war broke out between the army of the Assembly at Versailles (mostly regular soldiers, just released by the Germans) and the Communists. While the German army still lay near the city, a frightful contest raged in the streets of Paris. Frenchman fought Frenchman with savage fury. In about two months, 17,000 Parisians fell in the warfare of the streets. The Communists made their last stand in the great cemetery of Père-la-Chaise, and died there. Ten thousand had been taken prisoners, and upon these heavy sentences were passed. The Paris Commune, 1871.

Thus, in such wild fury, was the Third Republic born. Thus, by blood and iron, was the German Empire made. Through blood and tears France had passed, through defeat and bitter humiliation. She had been thrown to the ground, but, like the wrestler in the old fable, she received new strength from the soil, and in a few years she raised her proud head once more among the nations.

Diagram III

PARTY GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND
THE SWING OF THE PENDULUM



CHAPTER XVII

THE BRITISH ISLES AND BRITISH EMPIRE, 1848–1874

ENGLAND invented Parliaments, and a great deal of her history in modern times is made up of the history of her Parliaments. While France was making trial of republics, kings, and emperors, Britain turned to Tories from Whigs, from Whigs to Conservatives, from Conservatives to Liberals. We can break up the hundred and thirty years since 1784 into four periods, making the long, slow swing of a greater pendulum than that which turns from party to party, and back again, in a few years. In the second of these periods, from 1830 to 1874, the Whigs and "old" Liberals were in power for thirty-six years out of forty-four. Of the years covered in this chapter, they held office for twenty-one out of twenty-five. It is a time of Liberalism.

The British Two-Party System.

Whig Government. 1830–74.

Moreover, it is a time of war. Within the period come the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, minor wars in China, Persia, New Zealand, Japan, Abyssinia. It is at this time that the Volunteer movement develops into the force that was later changed to the Territorials. There is a Fenian movement in Ireland, an insurrection in Jamaica. All these events, crowded into twenty-five years, suggest a very troubled time. Yet almost at the beginning comes a Great Exhibition, marking and celebrating peace among the nations; almost at the end, a dispute with the United States is settled peaceably by treaty. We have a Reform Act, the laying of the first Atlantic Cable, a great Education Act. Charles Darwin's work and writings make men begin to see the idea of

Wars. 1848–74.

1851.

1871.

1867.

1858, 1870.

1859. growth (evolution) in life and in Nature everywhere. Science and industry advance rapidly. Trade increases threefold.

Parliamentary Leaders. The political leaders at the beginning of the period are John Russell and Palmerston on the Liberal side, Lord Derby and Disraeli for the Conservatives. Later, we find Gladstone and Disraeli standing out as the great rival leaders and speakers—both of them great talkers, each after his fashion. But on the whole the period

"Pam." belongs politically to Palmerston, whose direct and vigorous style appealed strongly to most Englishmen. He was in all ways the most completely English politician of his time: that is, he was rather blunt and sometimes rude, inclined to act, and not to hesitate, and sufficiently intelligent without being so clever as to puzzle people. Very clever people are often very puzzling, and are rarely the kind that stir men up to excited cheers. But "Pam" called forth many cheers. Englishmen regarded him, with good reason, as the most vigorous

The *Don Pacifico* Affair, 1850. and the most practical politician of his time. When he was attacked in Parliament for sending a British fleet to protect the property of a Gibraltar Jew against the Greeks, he defended himself in a stirring speech of five hours, declaring that he would protect British subjects throughout the world. "*Civis Romanus sum*," he cried, and the House applauded. But he offended the Queen

1851. and his fellow Ministers alike by taking action in affairs without consulting them, and a little later he was dismissed.

1852. In the first year of Lord Derby's Ministry the great Duke of Wellington died; a reminder that the men of Waterloo were passing away, and with them the ideas of their time. The newer ideas were represented, in

New Zealand. 1840. the same year, by the grant of self-government to New Zealand, a colony that had been formally annexed only

Gold Discoveries, 1847–50. a dozen years earlier. The discovery of gold in Australia about this time, following close upon the Californian discoveries, was an event that had a great effect upon the whole world in the years following, for it sent prices

up with a bound during the '50's. When gold is plentiful, it is "cheap" compared with other goods; that is, all other goods are dearer. Prices had been falling since 1840; they rose now in five years as much as they had fallen in ten. Prices.

Another incident to be remembered at a later time occurred in a different part of the Empire. By a treaty known as the Sand River Convention, Britain granted the full rights of independent settlers north of the Vaal River in South Africa. Many Boers (farmers), dissatisfied with English rule, had left Cape Colony to settle farther in the north. This was the Great Trek, a movement spread over five years. The Convention declared the New Transvaal territory to be independent; and two years later the sister colony of the Orange River was also declared to be outside British rule. These actions marked the Liberalism of the time. Perhaps it would be better to say that they marked, more clearly still, the ideas of a time just past; for countries are governed chiefly by older men, and they govern according to the ideas they learned in youth. The fullest believers in Free Trade and *laissez faire* pointed out that colonies were very expensive, and that they brought little gain to the mother country; for while they were feeble they must be supported, and when they grew big and strong they would want to govern themselves, and so would become separate countries. The extreme Tories looked upon the colonies as Britain's children, who must be obedient to their mother; while the extreme Liberals looked upon them as troublesome relations, who should be encouraged to mind their own business, which was to send plenty of cheap sugar and cotton to Britain, and to buy British ploughs and machines. But already the chief Liberal *Political Economy* of the day, written by J. S. Mill, was calling upon the State to take in hand the business of sending out British people to the colonies.

South Africa. 1852. The Great Trek. 1836–40. 1854. Manchesterism and the Colonies. 1848.

A Coalition Ministry of Whigs and Peelites had come into power just after the death of Wellington, and it was under this Ministry that the Crimean War began.

1852. England and Russia.

Britain had for some time watched the expansion of Russian power in Asia, from the north, moving as if to meet British expansion in India from the south. Now she saw Russia threatening to control Turkey, and that, in its turn, threatened the centre of the route to India through the Red Sea. Russia saw the people of her own religion, in the Balkans, oppressed by the Muhammadan Turks; and she was beginning to feel more and more strongly the need of ice-free ports. France, now once more an Empire, had lost none of her Imperial dreams, and here was high adventure, romance, the glamour of a new crusade with a religious element among its motives, and an opportunity of standing forth once more among the greatest Powers of Europe. There were important personal elements, also, that went to the making of the war. Napoleon III. was constantly stung by the refusal of Tsar Nicholas to acknowledge him, or to address him in his letters, as a brother-monarch. Nicholas, too, alarmed Britain, whom he wanted as a friend and ally, as much as he offended France by scorn of its Emperor. The masterful British ambassador at Constantinople was pro-Turkish, chiefly because he was anti-Russian. Most Englishmen were anti-Russian at that time, and the ambassador (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe) represented their attitude in its quality, though he over-represented it in quantity and intensity.

France,

and the Near East.

1853.

The offer of Nicholas to Britain was made clearly enough. We have to deal with a "sick man" (Turkey) he said, and we must be ready for the event of his death. Let the Balkan Peninsula be divided up among new Christian states—Bulgaria, Rumania, and so forth, under the protection of Russia, their "big brother," of the same faith, the Greek Church. Let Britain take Egypt from the Turkish Empire, and a Turkish island, Crete or Cyprus. Russia would not take an inch of Turkish territory, though she might find it necessary to occupy some places. Britain refused the offer, in anger and suspicion. The Crimean War was fought, the years passed, and the end of the nineteenth century saw the

Nicholas and the "Sick Man."

Balkan Peninsula, Egypt, and Cyprus arranged after a plan wonderfully like that of Nicholas.

War with Russia.

The Allies, Britain, France, Turkey, and (later) Piedmont, made their attack on the Black Sea. There was a British naval expedition to the Baltic, but it accomplished little. The war was decided in the Crimean Peninsula. Before the first battle was fought on the river Alma, the Russian forces in the Danube provinces withdrew after a defeat into Russian territory. The withdrawal of this force from Turkey had been the immediate demand of the Allies, and that demand was the final cause of the war.

Sept. 1854.

It is generally thought that if the Allies had made an attack at once, Sebastopol would have been taken; but they determined upon a more cautious plan, and entered upon a siege that was to last for a year. During that year there were events that stirred Britain to pride of the soldiers who fought and suffered in the war, to shame and disgust at those who mismanaged it. At Balaclava the Russians gained a position and captured some guns; but the advance was checked, and their cavalry driven back, by two brilliant charges of British Horse. The Heavy Brigade charged a mass of Russian cavalry five times its number; the Light Brigade, the Six Hundred, made the more famous charge of which Tennyson has sung. At Inkerman, again, "the soldiers' battle," the outnumbered British held their position against great odds. Then the winter came, and with it came stories of the sufferings of men, the blundering of the authorities, the awful state of the wounded, that moved all Britain to anger.

1854–55.

Oct. 1855.

Nov. 1855.

Government and Business.

It is necessary to keep in mind the enormous improvement that has come, in quite recent times, into the whole of the business part of the work of government. All the arrangements for feeding, clothing, moving, nursing, supplying an army, both at home and in the field of action, the like work for the navy; the management of the postal service, and, in some countries, of great railway systems—these are great businesses which Governments have

learned to handle at the cost of many blunders. In the Crimean War, the greatest failure was one of management, or organisation. The most childish mistakes were made. Green coffee beans and raw meat were served out to the men. Mules were sent, but no food was supplied for them, and they were slowly starved. The arrangements made for the wounded were so bad that the whole nation was horrified by the stories that came home. In this case, improvement came quickly. Florence Nightingale formed a body of trained nurses—the beginning of the present system of organising and training a complete unit of workers, with equipments to deal with the wounded on the field or in the hospital. A wave of warm feeling swept over the land as the story of her work became known; but there was great value, not only in the splendid sacrifice of the Crimean nurses, but in the lesson they taught of the great importance of method, training, and all the commonplace business of their work. Sensible management was shown to be as important as courage, orderliness as useful as enthusiasm.

Florence Nightingale. 1855.

1855. Tsar Nicholas died at the end of the winter, and in the autumn Sebastopol was taken. Todleben, its defender, was the only General to whom the war brought any real renown, and his success was only a postponement of defeat.

Treaty of Paris, 1856. The Treaty of Paris, which closed the war, was as unsatisfactory as the war itself. The Black Sea was to be neutral; no forts were to be built on its shores, no warships must sail its waters. A few years later, (1870.) when France and Prussia were at war, Russia declared that she would tolerate this clause no longer. A little (1878.) later still, she retook the tract of Bessarabia, which by the Treaty of Paris was to be held by Rumania, in order to keep Russia from the Danube. To these failures of the Treaty we must add the promises of reforms made by Turkey, since for the most part they remained as promises. The Congress of Paris did better work in securing self-government for Wallachia and Moldavia, 1862. which united, a few years later, to form the new state

of Rumania. Good work was done in setting free the navigation of the Danube, and in an agreement to abolish privateering, with others on the capture of neutral goods, and "paper" blockades. These three points were by no means finally settled; but another step had been taken in building up a Law of Nations. But the forty years of European peace were over, and the Crimean War proved to be only the first of a series that ran through the third quarter of the nineteenth century. 1815–54.

With the next year came the news of the Indian Mutiny. As the name shows, it was in the main a native revolt of soldiers in the British Indian Army; that is to say, the Army of the East India Company. To a small extent, it was the revolt of a conquered people; but the fact that southern India, and even the newly-conquered north-west, took no part in the rising, showed the want of unity among the peoples of India. Many races, languages, religions are covered by the one name, and there are many jealousies and hatreds covered by it also. Indian Mutiny. 1857.

Much has been written of the cause of the Mutiny. It is likely that religious feeling was the strongest force at work. Many Hindus and some Muhammadans thought that the British were determined to make Christians of them. They watched the increase of Christian missionaries; they saw some earnest officers preaching constantly to their British troops. Many Hindus resented the abolition of Sati, a religious custom that was to Hindus a glorious martyrdom, though to Britons it seemed merely cruel, stupid, and barbarous. When the native army was equipped with the new Enfield rifles with greased cartridges, the mere whisper that this was an excuse for undermining their religion was enough to send suspicion like flame through the ranks. The grease, it was said, was made of the fat of cows and pigs, purposely mixed. To the Hindu, the cow is sacred. To the Muhammadan, as to the Jew, the pig is unclean. At Meerut, near Delhi, over eighty soldiers refused to take the cartridges. They were tried by native officers Causes. Meerut.

and sentenced to terms of imprisonment. Next day the Sipahis (Sepoys, native soldiers) revolted, freed the prisoners, shot their British officers, and marched to Delhi. There, in that ancient capital, they proclaimed the descendant of the old Moguls as sovereign of India. Nine Britons, officers and sergeants, held the great powder magazine against some hundreds of the mutineers for a day, and then, as no help came, blew it up. The most wonderful thing of that wonderful fight was that four of the nine men escaped with their lives. But Delhi was now a centre of insurrection. Dissatisfied native princes and nobles threw in their lot with the mutineers. There were many with grievances against the British rulers, there were many who had watched with alarm the conquest of one native state after another. Here and there through Bengal revolt flashed up, as flames in a scorched prairie may break out in many places to make one great fire.

Delhi.

The Magazine.

Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow: these are the three names that stand out in the story. At Cawnpore a small body of British was besieged for twenty days, and then surrendered on promise of a safe conduct. They got into boats, and at once they were shot down from the banks. Of about three hundred men, and one hundred and twenty women and children, four men escaped to tell the tale. A little while afterwards, the British prisoners at Cawnpore, half of them women and children, were put to death. The native leader chiefly responsible for these crimes was Nana Sahib.

Cawnpore.

The story of Lucknow has a less gloomy ending. Here Sir Henry Lawrence, with a little force, held out for nearly three months against great odds. Havelock and Outram marched to his relief, and were themselves besieged. It was another two months before a final relief was effected by the army of Sir Colin Campbell. Tennyson and Whittier have told the story of the first relief.

Lucknow.

July-Sept.

Nov. 1857.

The capture of Delhi broke the Mutiny. It was not an ordinary siege, for the attacking force was unable to

Siege of Delhi.

invest the city, as it was less than a third the size of the defenders. Among the besiegers there were Sikhs, Afghans, and Gurkhas, old foes, new friends of the British forces. Delhi was taken by storm, after a siege of over three months.

Terrible crimes bring terrible punishments. It was with no light hand that such an outbreak was suppressed, and the memories of Cawnpore did not move the conquerors to mercy. To the Hindus, the most fearful act of the British was in blowing to pieces from the guns the prisoners taken and condemned to death; for this, in their view, destroyed soul as well as body. There were many in Britain, in that black year, who cried out not for punishment but for revenge. They poured scorn on the Governor-General of India, calling him "Clemency Canning" in mockery; but few think now that the Mutiny was suppressed too mildly. The Punishment.

Fighting continued for more than a year after the capture of Delhi, chiefly because of the skill of a Mahratta chief, Tantia Topi, and a warlike princess, the Rani of Jhansi. The Rani died on the field of battle. Tantia Topi, after surviving many defeats, was betrayed, tried and hanged. 1859.

The Mutiny ended the wonderful career of the East India Company. Its powers were transferred to the Crown, and instead of a Governor-General there was a Viceroy of the Queen. The Company's army became the Queen's army. It was no longer tolerated that a trading company should govern territories so vast, nor that Britain should leave the task of governing India to any body of men outside her full control. The Queen's Proclamation announced peace, an amnesty, and full religious freedom. The Company. 1858. 1858.

Meanwhile, trade and industry, as far as they can be judged by increases, were developing rapidly. Prices continued to rise until 1873. There was a sharp fall just after the Mutiny, and another after the American Civil War. Traders flourish when prices are rising, for then they have but to buy and wait, to be sure of a profit. Trade Prices.

Effects of Rising Prices.

People with fixed incomes suffer, for with the same money they can buy less. Wage-earners suffer, unless their wages are raised proportionally. The merchants, the large dealers, and the trading companies are stimulated by the hope of great profits, and the total trade and commerce increases. At this time many States were building railways rapidly, and they made heavy purchases from Britain. With the increased demand for labour, wages rose. Meanwhile, a new step was taken in the history of Labour when the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was formed on a "new model." Out of a number of small Unions there was created a powerful body of nearly twelve thousand skilled workers. A lock-out of engineers followed, and it was really a contest to destroy or preserve the new Union. The employers gained an immediate victory, but the Union was not crushed, and similar Unions began to be formed in other trades. An interesting feature of this struggle, as of many of the combats between capital and labour, was the "Document," a declaration which the employers presented to the workers to sign. It contained a promise to abandon the Union; in some cases it was a promise to work along with non-Union men, or to give warning before striking. Sometimes it contained an agreement for a fine to be taken out of the wages of a man who broke the agreement after signing it. These written promises have often been given and broken, the men declaring that the promise was forced under the pressure of starvation, and that it was unfair in its nature; the employers replying that a contract is a contract, and should be kept.

"New Model" Trade Unions. A.S.E., 1851.

1852.

The "Document."

But the worst evils of industrial life were disappearing. Wages rose on the whole, not only "money wages," but also "real wages." But the American Civil War, which cut off the supplies of raw cotton, brought sharp suffering to the mill-hands of Lancashire.

1860–65.

Lancashire.

The Trade Unions fell under suspicion through outrages committed in Sheffield. The story is told, brightly though one-sidedly, in Reade's novel, *Put Yourself in*

1865–66.

His Place. A Royal Commission on Trade Unions was held, and under enquiry the Unions came out very well and creditably. They began at this time to hold annual Congresses. 1867-68. 1868.

As prosperity returned after the war, a demand for reform arose, which led to the Second Reform Act. The two political leaders now becoming prominent were Gladstone and Disraeli. Gladstone carried on the movement towards Free Trade. He established the Post Office Savings Banks, and made newspapers cheap by taking away the paper duties. It was his young rival, Disraeli, however, who put through the Act which for the first time put political power into the hands of the working class. In 1832 that power fell to the middle class; but now every householder in the towns and many in the country could vote. Britain, as a French writer said, became a democracy. Second Reform Act, 1867. Gladstone and Disraeli. 1860-62. 1867.

The new voters put a Liberal Government into power; and during the next six years the "Church of England in Ireland" was disestablished, a system of Elementary Education was formed, and voting was made secret by the Ballot Act—an old Chartist demand. The Civil Service was thrown open to competition. Liberal Governments in all countries are inclined to give their attention mainly to home affairs. Abroad, they are inclined to peacefulness; and this also was illustrated now by the *Alabama* affair. The *Alabama* was an English-built ship that was allowed to sail from Liverpool, although there were strong suspicions that she was intended to take part in the American Civil War, as indeed she did. Heavy damages were claimed from Britain, and Mr. Gladstone agreed to settle the claim by arbitration. Many Britons held this to be mere cowardice, and when they found themselves condemned to pay a bill of over three million pounds, their tempers were not improved. About a year later the Government was defeated, and Mr. Disraeli became Prime Minister. New Reforms. 1869. 1870. 1872. 1870. The *Alabama*. 1871.

The Education Act of 1870 was partly the result of the Reform Act of 1867. If the working classes were Education Act, 1870.

to vote, they could not be left ignorant; "We must educate our masters," it was said. The intention of the Act was to leave untouched the elementary schools set up by religious bodies, and to "fill up the gaps" by providing new schools where they were needed. The new schools were to be in the charge of a Board specially elected in the district concerned, and they came to be known as Board Schools, a name that was changed after a later Act to that of Council Schools. There is usually a "religious difficulty" when schools are discussed. In this case it was got over by arranging that in the new Board Schools there should only be "simple Bible teaching." The great thing was to get the schools provided and a complete system set up, and the Act secured this. Ten years later, elementary education was made compulsory; eleven years later still, it was made free.

"Board" and "Council" Schools.

(1880.)

(1891.)

IRELAND.

The Land Question.

In Ireland, meanwhile, there were unrest, suffering, and disorder. The Land Question runs through Irish history, but in the later half of the nineteenth century it almost contained that history. The mass of the people were very poor, and it often happened that they were unable to pay their rents. Sometimes, too, they were unwilling, for they were embittered by a bad system which let the advantages of improvements made by the tenants fall to the profit of the landlords. Thousands of families were evicted for failing to pay their rents; in one year alone, nearly twenty thousand. The Irish Land Act of 1870 was the first of a series of Acts attempting to secure a juster and more enduring system. By the Act tenants were to be paid for improvements they made; but as a landlord could get rid of a tenant by raising the rent without turning him out "arbitrarily," many tenants found themselves little better off than before.

1850.

Land Act, 1870.

AUSTRALIA.

1851.

1853.

1855–57.

Overseas, the period was one of emigration and settlement. The gold discoveries in Australia caused a rapid influx of people, and the transportation of criminals to that continent was stopped. The Australian Colonies became self-governing; a new English-speaking demo-

cracy was formed. At the same time, New Zealand was growing in a similar fashion. Here there was more trouble with the natives than in Australia. The Maoris are an intelligent and warlike race, and in two wars with the British settlers they made themselves respected as warriors and as men. NEW ZEALAND.

CHAPTER XVIII

WESTERN, CENTRAL, AND EASTERN EUROPE, 1848–1874

I. Western Europe

France. FRANCE spent the first years that followed her terrible war in setting herself in order. Her Government, under Thiers, had the task of binding up the wounds of France.

1871–73. The indemnity of two hundred million pounds was paid in about two years, and the German forces withdrew from French soil. A new army was formed, on a method of compulsory service.

Third Republic, 1870. In five years the Third Republic was firmly established. But it was by no means certain, during the Government of Thiers, that a Republic would be established. The signs, at first, seemed to point to a Monarchy. The majority of the members of the National Assembly disliked the idea of a Republic, but they were divided against each other. "Those who want a Monarchy," said Thiers, "do not all want the same Monarchy. A Republic is the form of government that divides us least." France did not desire more divisions, more conflicts. She wanted unity and rest. But though the struggle between the Monarchists and Republicans now seems a slight and far-off thing in the story of France, it was earnest and passionate. To many Monarchists it was a holy cause. They proclaimed the Catholic faith and allegiance to the line of French kings in one breath, one wish. The two forms of devotion were closely united in the traditions of France.

1875. The form of the Third Republic was finally settled by a new Constitution, but in the law that fixed it the word

"republic" did not appear. It was not added until nine years later. (1884.)

The long reign of Isabella II. of Spain was marked, not only by the Carlist Civil War, but by plots and revolts and the attempts of ambitious leaders. Soon after the insurrections of 1848 an agreement was made between the Government and the Pope—a Concordat. All religions but the Catholic religion were forbidden, and the Government was to support the Church in controlling the Press, and in securing that education should be guided by the religious bodies. This system, on the whole, marks the Spain of the nineteenth century. It was disturbed often by violent outbreaks, but it marked the main path of the nation. Spain. 1833–70. 1851.

A Liberal revolution, indeed, followed quickly after the Concordat. The Queen Mother fled from the country, and the government fell to the army leaders and the "Progressists" of the towns. By and by the Court party, the "camarilla" of the Queen's advisers, regained its power and grew more absolutist. Another Liberal revolution followed, and this time the Queen herself had to fly. For two years Spain busied herself in forming a new Government and in searching for a new king. It was now that the crown was offered to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern; a simple act that stirred many passions beyond the frontiers of Spain. The offer was refused, and Amadeo, Duke of Aosta, son of Victor Emmanuel, was elected by the Cortes as King of Spain. After trying for two years to understand the Spanish parties, and to govern as a parliamentary king, Amadeo abdicated. A Republic was proclaimed, which lasted for two years. Then Alphonso XII., the son of Isabella, was proclaimed king. Revolutions. 1854. 1868. 1870. Republic, 1873–74. 1874.

We must imagine all this time the Carlist revolt still continuing in the north and west, Don Carlos having a capital of his own in Navarre. We must imagine the Spanish peasants, in many a quiet valley, living their lives undisturbed by the changes made at Madrid: a proud, independent, uneducated people, as untouched The Carlists. The Peasants.

by the thoughts and ideas of the new Europe as by its newspapers and railways. We must imagine, too, the effect of these new ideas when they came to the Spaniards

The Towns. of the industrial towns and ports; and then we shall see a little of the causes that made such a place as Barcelona a centre of unrest; for the twentieth century, at Barcelona, finds itself under the control of Madrid, where there is much that belongs to the sixteenth century. The struggle of the old and new in Spain is not yet ended.

Portugal. After Dom Miguel had accepted a pension, and had withdrawn from Portugal, the two parties that appeared were for and against the idea of real power being in the hands of the monarch. The political struggles went on, and they were real and bitter enough; but they were unheeded by the greater part of the Portuguese people. Only in the capital, and in Oporto and Coimbra, did they disturb the ordinary course of men's lives.

Revolutions. 1842, 1852. The Court party gained the ascendency by one revolution and lost it by another. The leader of the newer party became practically a dictator; many laws were passed, but little real change was made. Always there was the weight of a heavy debt crushing a nation of poor people; and always the debt increased.

Holland. The year of revolutions made a great political change in Holland. By the new Constitution, the Upper House was no longer to be appointed by the king, but to be elected. The Lower House had its powers increased, and its members were paid. The smaller local bodies also increased in power and importance. The change was carried through quietly enough. At first King William II. made some resistance, but he gave way when he discovered the strength of the desire for change. The modern parties began to form, and, as in Belgium, they were partly religious. The south of Holland is Catholic and it forms about a third of the country; though in more recent times the numbers of Catholics in Holland have greatly increased. Besides the Catholics,

1857. two other parties were formed, Conservative and Liberal; and the Catholics and Liberals joined forces to establish

schools where nothing should be said to hurt "the religious feelings of persons of another faith." A little later, the Catholics joined the Conservatives against the Liberals, to get the schools established on a religious basis—Protestant schools in the case of the Conservatives, and Catholic schools for the children of Catholics. This alliance had little success. The interest of the whole movement is in the way it illustrates that here, as elsewhere, religion and politics are very closely connected, and that control over education is seen to be a power of tremendous importance.

Now and again, in reading the story of Europe, we find the little state of Luxemburg appearing, generally in connection with some hot argument. It lies at the meeting-place of Germany, Holland, Belgium, and France, and its varied history is due to its position. In earlier times it was a part of Burgundy, and, later, a part of the Spanish Netherlands. After Waterloo it was given to the Crown of Holland, but yet was a part of the German Confederation, and its capital had a Prussian garrison. When the kingdom of Belgium was formed, the bulk of Luxemburg added itself to the new country, but only a part was finally included with Belgium. To this little country William II. of Holland gave a modern parliamentary Government; but a few years later he took away most of the powers he had given. The Powers declared Luxemburg a neutral state, and decided that it was to be unarmed. This came about through an attempt on the part of Louis Napoleon to purchase the little Duchy for France. William II. of Holland was willing enough to sell, but the German countries made passionate objections. The people of Luxemburg are chiefly German in race and speech, but the military strength of the country, and its position, thrusting forward from France towards the Rhine, were more important causes of German anger.

LUXEMBURG.

(1815.)

(1830.)

1848.

1856.

1867. Treaty of London.

The Grand Duke of Luxemburg was more German than his people, and it was his will, not theirs, that made Luxemburg a member of the Zollverein.

1842.

Belgium. 1848–74.

Of the twenty-six years between 1848 and 1874, the Belgian Liberals were in office for twenty. They carried on a struggle against the Catholic Church party, chiefly over the control of the schools. Belgians described themselves at this time as Walloons or Flamands, and as Catholics or Liberals. The race-names remained, but at the end of the nineteenth century the old Liberal party almost disappeared. There were Catholics and Socialists, but few Liberals.

Switzerland.

Since 1848, Switzerland has been a united country, republican and democratic, great powers being put in the hands of the citizens. With unity and peace came a sweeping away of all tolls and barriers between the different cantons, and this was followed by a period of prosperity, which was hastened by the growth of railways and of manufactures. The Constitution of 1848 was founded upon the idea of the sovereignty of the whole people, and this sovereignty was fully expressed. As time went on, the idea was strengthened, and the Swiss people showed a very strong inclination to take more powers directly into their own hands, and to leave less to the judgment of the elected Assembly, than was done in any other country. This movement showed itself chiefly in the cantons, which had, and still have, large powers of local government; but later it affected the whole country. There were two acts of power claimed for the mass of citizens—the right to have important questions or Acts of Parliament put to the vote of the whole people—this is the Referendum; and the right of the citizens, outside the Assembly, to demand a new law—this is the Initiative. The people of Zurich were the first to adopt the Referendum, in order, as was said, "to transfer power from the hands of a few to the strong shoulders of the community." The Council was merely to prepare Bills. They would be passed or rejected by a vote of all the electors. In five years most of the cantons had adopted the system of direct government in the place of representative government. Many people expected that under such a change the country

Constitution of 1848.

Referendum.

Initiative. 1869.

would enter into a violent radical period of many changes; but the working of the Referendum has proved, as most of the facts of history prove, that people on the whole are rather cautious about making changes except under the pressure of very strong feeling.

II. Central Europe

Germany.

The creation of the new German Empire was so great a fact in the history of modern Europe that we must describe the main features of the compact. Since the time when the Roman legions first fought with the German tribes, they had been disunited, jealous, and therefore weak. Their union, now so fully brought about, was less like the meeting of sister-streams than the welding of metals under the hammer of war. We have already glanced at that long story. We see now, in the proclamation of William I. of Prussia as German Emperor, the union of all the German states outside Austria. William was not proclaimed Emperor of Germany, but German Emperor, because Bismarck thought that the latter title would arouse less jealousy among the other German rulers. William grumbled, but finally, as usual, gave way. Thus, in the great Hall of Mirrors, where the Grand Monarch of France, Louis XIV., had kept his state, the princes of the German states gave welcome with cheers to the greatest union of Germans that had happened in two thousand years.

The New Empire.

Kaiser.

Bundesrat.

The King of Prussia was to be German Emperor. He, with his Chancellor, and a Council (*Bundesrat*) of sixty-two, would govern the Empire in foreign affairs, make treaties, declare war, and settle peace. Prussia had seventeen representatives in this Bundesrat, Bavaria six, Saxony four, and so on. They were not to be elected, but appointed by the rulers of the states. The Chancellor, responsible to the Emperor only, would preside over the Bundesrat.

Reichstag.

Besides this Council, there was set up another body, the Reichstag, elected by manhood suffrage. It was not

a House of Commons in the English sense, for it had no control over the Ministers of Government.

The states, especially those of south Germany, did not enter into this agreement without certain doubts and fears. It has been said that the consent of the King of Bavaria was only gained by means of bribes. It is certain that there were in many states both fear and mistrust of Prussia. But Bismarck overcame all difficulties, and entered upon his new duties as first Chancellor to the Empire. He had been rewarded with the title of Prince (*Fürst*).

Papal Infallibility. 1870.

Bismarck's first struggle was with the Catholic Church. When the Vatican Council had declared the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, a struggle between Church and State began. In Germany it was as sharp and fierce as a war, and it was called a war or struggle of civilisation —*Kulturkampf*. All Catholics were required to declare for the doctrine that when the Pope speaks as Pope, concerning any doctrine of faith or morals, his word is final, and he cannot err. Many German Catholics refused to accept this teaching, and they were cut off from the Church. They turned to the State for help. To Bismarck, this was more a question of Government than of religion. He saw in it "a struggle for power as old as the human race—the contest between Kingship and Priesthood." As a strong upholder of Kingship, he was ready to enter the conflict.

Kulturkampf.

May Laws. 1872.

The Catholic Religious Orders were forbidden to act as teachers, and the Jesuits were expelled. There followed, in three years, laws called the May Laws, forbidding the Church to interfere in civil affairs, compelling the clergy to be educated in State universities, and establishing a control over the appointment of priests, and an inspection of seminaries. Marriage, also, was made by law a civil ceremony, whether a religious ceremony was added or not.

The Pope declared these laws of no effect. Most of the Catholic clergy refused to obey them. Fines, imprisonment, banishment, only stiffened the resistance of the

Church. Bismarck has often been called a man of iron, but he had now thrown himself against something harder than iron. The May Laws were suspended, and then abandoned. The chief result of this struggle was to build up a powerful Catholic party in the Reichstag (the "Centre"). 1879, 1886.

Meanwhile the confident excitement following the victory over France, increased by the millions that came in as the indemnity was paid, had been stirring Germany to develop her trade and commerce at an unhealthy rate. New companies were formed by the score, new enterprises undertaken. Every one in Germany felt richer, and there was a "boom" in trade. Prices rose rapidly, until, in Germany as in Europe generally, they reached the high-water mark of 1873, far beyond the point they ever reached since, until the Great War came. But money is only a small part of the real wealth of a nation or of the world. It is chiefly a part of the machinery of exchanging the actual things men need. A severe depression was soon to follow this feverish rise, and in the long run, few but the big bankers profited by the gold from France. Trade Expansion. Prices. 1873.

When the system of absolutism fell so quickly and so easily in 1848, all Europe was amazed. It seemed for a while as if the end of Austria had come. When, with the help of the Tsar, she was restored once more to power, it seemed, on the other hand, as if the hopes of Hungary for any share of self-government had disappeared. Under the young Emperor, Francis Joseph I., Austria appeared as powerful and as autocratic as in the old days. Serfdom indeed had disappeared, a vast change in itself, But the system of government was untouched by any other modern movement. Two years after an Austrian Emperor had fled for safety to Olmutz, his successor, at the same place, triumphed over Prussia, and scattered her plans for a new German Union. Austria. Francis Joseph. 1848–1916. 1848. 1850.

But now came the disastrous war in Italy, which not only took territory from Austria's hands, but left her exhausted and bankrupt. This was Hungary's opportunity, and she seized it. There were four years of bargaining, Hungary.

and no agreement had been reached when a blow fell upon the Empire from the north—the Prussian War of 1866. It was followed by an agreement called the "Compromise" (*Ausgleich*), which set up a curious Dual Monarchy, with Austria and Hungary as separate independent states, united by having the same sovereign, crowned in Vienna as Emperor, and in Buda-Pest as King. There were two parliaments, each using its own language—German or Magyar. From these parliaments equal committees were formed, to consult together. But affairs of finance and war, and foreign affairs generally, were not divided. Hungary was satisfied, but not so the many other races of the Empire. The Czechs, Poles, Croats, Serbs, Rumanians, felt that German and Magyar had united to hold them in subjection. The Emperor yielded to the demands of the Czechs so far as to be crowned at Prague also. But this was all that the Bohemians gained, and the other races gained nothing. The two strongest of the many races within the Austrian Empire had agreed to hold the other races subject to them. That was the great result of the Compromise. The national rights of the Magyars were fully admitted, but the national claims of the Czechs, Croats, Serbs, Rumanians, Saxons, Poles, were not to be admitted.

Dualism. 1867.

The Subject Races.

Kulturkampf. There were changes and reforms, nevertheless, and one of the changes brought trouble with Rome. One of the agreements of the Compromise was in favour of religious liberty, and it was forbidden to teach any religious creed in the public schools. A strong protest came from Rome, and the Pope declared this law null and void. As in Germany, there was a *Kulturkampf*, but here the struggle was less severe, and the Church was less successful than in the northern Empire. It is curious to notice that in Germany, where the State was more powerful than in any other European country, the Church in this struggle triumphed over the State. In Italy, an unsettled and somewhat feeble State triumphed over the Church in Rome itself.

1873. And also, as in Germany, there was a great "boom"

in new companies and new enterprises, followed by a crash and a period of depression.

When Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy "by the grace of God and by act of the people," the provinces of Rome and of Venice were still outside the new kingdom. The Italian nationalists had set their hearts on making Rome the capital of the new Italy. The warmer supporters of the Pope could not bear the thought of taking from him the small territory that was still under his rule. Between fear of the anger of the Catholics of many countries, and fear of the eager followers of Garibaldi and Mazzini, Cavour was forced, as so often in his career, to act with every care. France had helped Italy for a great way along the road to unity, but nevertheless, France was a Catholic country, as was Austria. Napoleon III., indeed, was inclined to leave Italy a free hand in dealing with Rome, but he had to consider the powerful Church party in France, with the Empress among its most passionate supporters. Rome was not to be had as the capital of the new Italy without a flat defiance of the head of the Catholic Church; and Italy, France, Austria, were all of them Catholic countries. Among the Italians, two powerful forces were at work against each other. The sentiment of nationality was set against the claim of religion. A great contest might have arisen between the nationalist Italians and the rigidly Catholic Italians, if events had chanced to sharpen the struggle. There might have been a fierce civil war, another and bitterer *Kulturkampf*, between the followers of State and Church, King and Pope. But if the moderate people of both sides are to the front, and extremists try rather to persuade than to excite, a difficult situation like this can continue for years, until, slowly, it is seen that one force is steadily gaining on the other. Meanwhile, other things happen, men's thoughts and energies are turned away from the place of danger.

Italy. 1861.

The Capital.

Nationality and Religion.

After the death of Cavour, there was a halt in the march of the new Italy. Eager Italians grew impatient. Garibaldi, always impetuous, landed once more in Sicily, and called for troops to march on Rome. He crossed to the mainland,

1861.

1862.

where he found his road barred by the troops of Victor Emmanuel. There was some fighting, and Garibaldi was wounded and taken prisoner. When men write stories, they make it easy for us to say which is the right and which the wrong action, who is the hero and who is the scoundrel; but the stories of nations are full of strange events like this. Garibaldi wounded "by an Italian bullet"! What was an honest Italian to think, one who loved his country and his religion, when the news of this story came to him? He was pulled two ways at once, as indeed were most Italians at that time.

Venetia.

But meanwhile, the question of Venetia came up, and was answered, though in a way that mortified the pride of Italy. First came an offer by Italy to purchase Venetia from Austria; but the offer was declined. Next came an offer to Italy from Prussia, and this was put into a definite treaty.

Prussian Alliance. 1866.

If within three months there should be war between Austria and Prussia, Italy was to attack Austria by land and sea, and was to have Venetia as a reward. We have seen how Bismarck made use of the three months, and how the war came about. Meanwhile, news of the Italian treaty had reached Vienna, and Austria offered to hand over Venetia to Napoleon III., to hand in turn to Victor Emmanuel. The Italian Minister, La Marmora, was sorely tempted by this chance of gaining Venetia without a war; but Italy was pledged by her word for three months, and must keep her word. Her share in the fighting was not glorious. At Lissa her fleet was defeated, and at Custozza, a month earlier, her army had been beaten. Her help to Prussia, however, was important, though indirect, for she kept a great Austrian army engaged, which might have turned the tide of fortune at Sadowa. Venetia came to Italy through the hands of Napoleon III. after all, for Austria took this as the least humiliating way of meeting the inevitable loss.

Lissa and Custozza. 1866.

1866.

There was still Rome, and still at Rome there was a French garrison. But after the first defeats of 1870, that garrison was withdrawn. A little later, the troops of

Victor Emmanuel advanced to the city. The Pope would not yield except to force, but after the first engagement he ordered his soldiers to withdraw. There was a vote taken, and by a majority of more than a hundred to one the people of the last of the states of the Church agreed to join the new Italy. There remained, beyond the borders of the kingdom, only small territories of the "Unredeemed Italy" (*Italia Irredenta*), on the coast east and south of Venice, and in the Alpine valleys about Trent.

Parties.

It was natural now for the parties of ordinary civil life to form themselves. The number of downright absolutists or extreme republicans in the Chamber was small. There was a Catholic party, but the most earnest Catholics, following the lead of the Pope, would neither vote nor be voted for. They stood apart from the civil life of the country. There were no strong party questions, but there were, on the other hand, many national tasks. States which had for centuries regarded each other as foreigners were now united into one country. A system of education, an army, a navy, a general plan of taxation, of coins, of tariffs, had to be built up in a country which had many methods representing many centuries. All this was very costly, and it meant heavy taxes laid upon a nation of poor people. Some of the wealth of the Church was taken, chiefly the lands of certain religious houses that were suppressed as "unnecessary."

The New Italy.

The Pope.

The Pope would come to no agreement with the new Government, whatever offers might be made. He would not accept the situation, nor recognise the authority of the king, who now reigned in Rome. He shut himself up in the grounds of the Vatican palace as a voluntary prisoner, refusing to enter the city he no longer ruled. Each of his successors has followed that example.

III. Eastern Europe

Russia.

1855–65.

The close of the Crimean War was also the close of a period of Russian history. The ten years that followed were marked by the freeing of the serfs, by the expan-

sion of the Russian Empire in Asia, and by a Polish revolution.

Alexander II. 1855–81.

The new Tsar, Alexander II., introduced a period of reform. In the early years of his reign, education was improved, the law was more justly administered, and a vast step was taken in freeing the serfs. The Russia of the Crimean War was a land of sixty million people, of whom fifty millions were serfs. Over ninety per cent of the land was owned by the remaining million, consisting chiefly of royal and noble families. The serfs lived in village communities, "mirs," and tilled the land of the "mir," living on its produce, while working for three days in each week upon the domain whose fruits went to the lord of the district. Thus the serfs had the use of certain lands, and felt that they had a claim upon them. "We belong to you," said some serfs to their lord, "but the land belongs to us." They meant the common lands, whose crops came to the community, not the lord's domain.

The "Mir."

1859.

1861.

Alexander began by setting free the serfs of the Crown —more than twenty millions. This was followed by the Edict of Emancipation, setting free the serfs of the nobles. Each serf became the possessor of the house he lived in, and the village lands were to be the property of the village. The land-owners were to keep certain lands, and to be paid for the village lands by the State, the peasants paying back this money to the State yearly for a period of about fifty years. The rejoicings of the serfs over the act for which Alexander II. was rightly called the Tsar Liberator were followed, a little later, by complaints that they were forced to pay for what they held to be their own lands, and that, since they must not leave the "mir" till the payments were complete, they were free only in name. But none the less, the change was as important as it was vast. It might have been made under conditions that the serfs would not have felt to be so oppressive, but it was much to get it made at all. The difficulty was that the nobles firmly believed that all the land and the people on it were their property, while the serfs as firmly believed that the village lands belonged to them.

The Enfranchisement.

Reformers are often disappointed at the results of their reforms, and Alexander was no exception to this rule. While he was listening to the complaints of noble and peasant, a new disturbance arose in Poland.

Poland.

There had been riots in Warsaw just before the emancipation of the Russian serfs, and Alexander made some attempts to remove the grievances of the Poles. But what they wanted was independence, and Alexander said plainly to them, "Abandon all thoughts of independence, now and for ever impossible. All that my father did was rightly done." Alexander seemed, to the Poles, to change from gentler to severer methods, and back again. In one year, 1861–62. he sent five different governors to Poland, each having his own method of harshness and tolerance. A sudden and secret attempt of one of these governors—himself a Polish noble—to force the discontented students into the army brought about a revolt. The revolutionaries hoped for help from abroad, but none came. Britain, France, and Austria sent messages to the Tsar on behalf of Poland, but that was all. The Poles, most of them armed with scythes and sticks, had no chance of success. As before, they were sharply divided amongst themselves into nobles and peasants, and they fought in small bands.

Revolt. 1863.

The revolt was stamped out, and none too lightly. The use of Polish language was forbidden, most of the monasteries and convents were suppressed, and Russian Poland became a Russian province. By one bold move, Alexander made use of the ill-feeling between noble and peasant in Poland. About half the nobles' lands were divided among peasants, the cost being met by taxes upon the whole country.

Suppression.

Alexander now seemed to despair of efforts at reform, and a period of reaction followed. He spoke sharply of "the autocratic power which God has entrusted to me." The Press was watched; the police arrested, tried and sentenced men in secret; the schools and universities were kept under the eye of State officials; professors were ordered to cease teaching modern science, and to teach dead languages instead. Under

Reaction. 1865–81.

this system, the "reform party" among the educated class split into more or less violent groups. One of these came to be known as the Nihilists. They would believe in nothing (*nihil*), they said, but what they could build up by their own reason. The law, religion, customs, that they found in the world in which they lived, must be judged by this test of reason. If these were found unsatisfactory, they must all be swept away. The different Nihilists were by no means agreed as to what should be set in their place, but they could easily point to many things in Russia (or in any other country) that were unsatisfactory or unreasonable.

Nihilism.

Nihilist Methods.

They set about doing two things: to educate the Russian peasants, and to terrify the Russian Government. Many of them devoted their lives to educating the peasants, partly by teaching them to read and write, partly by spreading their own ideas among them. It was dangerous work, for sooner or later most of these new missionaries died in prison or in Siberia. The second part of their work was to assassinate those among the Russian officials and police who were most infamous for their oppressive conduct. The police, in return, sent suspected people to Siberia in thousands. There began a series of attempts on the life of the Tsar, which did not end until his assassination in 1881.

The Balkans.

The town of Bucharest, now the capital of Rumania, was in 1848 an Eastern imitation of Paris, and the Paris revolution of that year found a ready echo in its streets.

Moldavia and Wallachia.

The two provinces, Moldavia and Wallachia, were peopled by peasants, but many of the land-owning nobles lived in their local "Paris." The governors appointed by Nicholas I. were set aside, and an attempt was made to set up a Parliamentary government. But Russian troops from the north, and Turkish troops from the south, quickly came to restore the former state of affairs, which was practically that of independent provinces under the protection of Russia.

1853.

The Crimean War definitely began when Russian armies entered the Danubian provinces, and would not

withdraw at the demand of Turkey. This campaign went badly for Russia, and her troops were withdrawn. 1854.
At the settlement of the Treaty of Paris, Britain and 1856.
France were inclined to combine the two provinces into one independent country, which was what the Rumanian people desired. But Austria and Turkey objected, and the two separate provinces were set up again, under the protection of the Sultan. Each province was to elect its own governor; and the two provinces chose the same man, who became Alexander I., Prince of 1859.
Rumania. A single Assembly for the whole of Rumania RUMANIA.
met in Bucharest. The force of nationality proved 1862.
stronger than treaties.

The imitation of Paris was continued by the new prince, who seized full powers, controlled the Press, strengthened himself by plebiscites, and played off the mass of the people against the nobles and the Assembly, quite in the style of Napoleon III. The peasants were 1864.
converted into small land-owners, partly at the cost of the claims or rights of the nobles. By a sudden rising in Bucharest, however, Alexander was deposed and a German Hohenzollern became Charles I. of Rumania. Charles I.
1866.

A real Parliamentary system grew up, with a Conservative party, formed of the great land-owners, and favourable to Russia, and a Liberal party, which set its hope of support rather on Germany and Austria. A strong army was built up, chiefly on the Prussian pattern.

Greece was disappointed, at the time of the Crimean GREECE.
War, in not obtaining Thessaly; but the policy of Britain and France at that time was not to cut up the Turkish Empire, but to support and reform it. Greece gained an addition of territory, a few years later, when
Britain ceded to her the Ionian Islands. This gift Ionian Islands.
followed upon a revolution, in which Otto of Bavaria 1864.
was deposed, and George I., a Dane, set up in his George I.
place: a change that Britain approved. There followed 1863.
attempts to add the island of Crete and the province of 1866–69.
Thessaly (both largely Greek), but the Powers gave no encouragement to these attempts, and both failed. The

1866. Christian Greeks of Crete revolted, and there were risings in Thessaly, but the Turkish forces restored order after their usual manner.

SERBIA. The nationalist idea of uniting all the Serbs in Bosnia, Serbia, and the surrounding districts, seems to appear strongly under Prince Michael of Serbia. It is then that 1860. the modern Serbian army begins to be built up. It was by Michael's management that the Turkish garrisons were 1867. withdrawn from Belgrade, and finally from all Serbia. 1868. He was assassinated shortly afterwards.

1868. The group which held the chief power under young Prince Milan was inclined towards an alliance with Austria, but the mass of the people, peasants of the Greek Church, naturally looked rather to Russia, and they were strong enough to force the Government to join with Russia 1876. against Turkey, when a revolt in Herzegovina stirred up one of the many wars of race and religion that have marked the history of the Balkans.

CHAPTER XIX

A REVIEW, 1848–1874; AND THE EASTERN QUESTION

THE period that began with the revolutions of 1848 does not form a new chapter of European history as plainly as does the period beginning with the Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815. Its beginning is not so definite, and its end is far less definite. The end may be put at 1880, or at 1870, and the year we have taken, 1874, is not in itself a very remarkable one, but it brings in a new period in European and in British history, for it marks the time when the nations of Europe began to dream of Empires abroad—to "think Imperially."

Nations. We saw in the last section of this book how the spirit of nationality rose against the attempts of monarchs to govern according to their own will, as if they were owners of the nations. We see, in this period, the same spirit at work, uniting people of the same race, language, religion, interests, strong feelings, or way of thinking, though they had long been separated. Italy and the New Germany are the two great examples, and in both 1870–71. the work was completed at the same time. There were differences, however, between the two cases. Italy rose against a foreign oppressor; Prussia attacked a rival German Power. Italy, in spite of the proud saying, "*Italia fara da se*," gained Lombardy by the help of France, Venetia by alliance with Prussia; but the German Empire was made by Prussia from within. Italy's quarrel needed no making; Austria and her own misruling princes justified Italy in the eyes of the world before she had struck a blow; Prussia prepared, chose

her time, and forced a quarrel when she was ready. She had indeed an excellent case in law, against Denmark, against Austria, even against France; but always outsiders could see her making for war, until she made war certain. These same outsiders did not grow warm with pleasure at the sight of German states, long separated, bound into one; yet they did feel that pleasure over the union of the Italian states. Von Moltke was a far cleverer General than Garibaldi; but it was at Garibaldi's name that foreigners tossed up their hats and cheered.

Government. In the government of the countries of Europe, we find marked changes coming in this period, and most of them, as before, are copied from Britain. The great object of nearly all the revolutions of 1848 was to set up a Parliamentary government after the English model. In most of the countries of Europe such a government
1860-67. was in fact set up; but a period of reaction followed, until in the "'sixties," Italy, Austria, and Hungary established Parliaments that had some real powers and
1867. that were not destroyed. Meanwhile, Britain brought herself into line by handing over the bulk of the voting power to the workers in the towns. Power moves from the few to the many; the elected House gains at the expense of king and noble, and that House is controlled more and more by the mass of the nation. The movement receives an impulse after 1848; it is checked, but later it gathers strength again. It has this mark of all powerful human movements, that set-backs are occasional, while the movement is continuous on the whole and in a fixed direction. There is a great variety as we move from the Western countries to the Eastern. But in absolutist Russia the serfs are freed, and if the movement is not for to-day it is certain to begin to-morrow. The idea of the foundation of power has changed. Democracy has challenged Autocracy and Aristocracy; Governments are to receive their powers from the people governed. The idea of the divine right of kings to rule by right of birth is not yet dead, but it is marked out for death.

It lives on into the twentieth century, but no strong new life comes to it, and living things must constantly renew themselves, or perish.

Church and State.

There is another struggle for power, between Church and State. The new nations will not suffer the rule of a Church that they cannot control, and we see in this period the last of the temporal power of the Vatican passing away as a national Italy rises. We see the struggle in another form in the new schools that are being built. If the power is to go to the people, then the people must be educated. If the State educates its people, the State will keep some control over the schools, and that must mean taking much control of education out of the hands of the Churches, which were busy at the work of education long before the States took up the task. We have seen in England that the education question is very largely a religious question.

Civil Service.

The nations are building for themselves little worlds of their own, and as they grow busier, as they undertake fresh tasks, they need a host of State servants. Great Civil Services grow up. The State becomes the employer of an increasing number of its citizens. These officials were at first appointed by the king, the Court, the Ministers, and very often there was little trouble taken to make certain that fit men were appointed. The first blunders of the Crimean War stirred the British Government to make some improvement, and certain tests were 1855. marked out to prevent men from being appointed to Government posts for which they were unfit. A greater change was made when these posts could only be filled 1870. by those who succeeded in an open examination. One of the great advantages that Prussia held in her long struggle with Austria, was that she had an excellent body of trained State servants for purposes of peace and of war.

Free Trade.

This period saw the rise and also the beginning of the decline in the spreading of the belief in Free Trade among the nations of Europe. For twenty years it seemed 1840–60. as if the prophecies of the Free Traders would prove

true. But the desire of nations to make themselves as complete as possible, even if they had to pay dearer for it, was greater than the desire to do "only the things that paid best." The nations wanted to have manufactures, commerce, and various industries of their own. France could buy cotton cloth from Britain much cheaper than she could make it, but she was not content to make wines and buy cotton for ever; she wanted to make both. If she could not make all her own cotton, she desired at least to make some of it, even if it came dearer. And other nations felt in the same way, over many things besides cotton. So the Free Trade movement was set back, and there was a return to Protection. It was helped, and largely caused, by the great wars of this period. The States wanted money, and one of the easiest ways of collecting money is by taxing imports. People will grumble more at paying a tax directly to the State than at paying a much larger tax, bit by bit, as they buy the goods they need. They pay the tax, and often more, in the increased price, but they do not notice it.

Laissez Faire. The belief in *laissez faire* is distinctly weaker than it was in the period 1815–1848, but it is still powerful. The belief that Governments should do as little as possible is not so generally held. A party has arisen, indeed, declaring something like the opposite belief: that Governments should do, if not so much as possible, at any rate very many things. But the Socialist Party has not become numerous in any country as yet. Ideas are being rearranged. The Governments are busily entering upon new duties, such as the care of education, control of factories, even at the very time when they are eager to give up the older habit of "interfering" in the matters of trade. While the British Parliament is refusing to fix wages it is fixing hours of labour.

Labour. With the freeing of the serfs on the Continent, the formation of large farms in England, the rise of great factories and factory towns, there come into view great masses of "landless men," as they would have been

called in older times. They have no claim upon the land, they have no way of securing a livelihood except by hiring out their labour. So numerous are they, that their work, their strikes, their health, their intelligence are of great importance in the nation. We are apt to forget that they are largely a new class. It is because they are so new and so many, that a great number of laws begin to be passed about them. We have seen them in England turn to Parliament for help, and then forming Unions to help themselves. The large modern Trade Unions come into existence. 1851.

In Europe generally the chief question for the time, as between nation and nation, was: "What should we do, or try to do, with Turkey?" At the Congress of Vienna, the immediate question was: Shall Turkey be admitted into the Council of Europe? To that Alexander I., speaking the true feeling of Holy Russia, replied with a firm "No." Europe was Christian and its Congress could not admit a Muhammadan Power, the oppressor of Christians. In the sixty years that followed, we have seen how the interests of the Powers in Balkan affairs led to interferences, disputes, wars; how the Ottoman Empire began to break and new Christian States began to be formed from it. Russia, Austria, France, Britain had each of them interests or ambitions that kept their eyes on Constantinople. Russia desired to protect her "little brothers" of the Greek Church in Bulgaria and Serbia; moreover, she wanted a freer outlet by sea for her land-locked Empire. Austria, when Prussia destroyed her hopes of controlling the German states to the north of her, and when her Empire in Italy was gone, turned her thoughts—as Bismarck had roughly told her to do—south and east towards Bosnia and Salonika. France remembered Napoleon's conquests in Egypt and Syria, and the story of Saint Louis in the Holy Land. Britain feared to see a strong Power in Egypt or at

Eastern Question. 1815. 1815–74. (1798–99.) (1215–70.)

Constantinople, because her shortest route to India lay that way.

1821–29. The first step came when Britain and France joined hands with Russia against Turkey and helped to set
1829. up an independent Greece. Austria objected to this European interference. The Balkans were outside the borders of civilisation, said Metternich; why not leave these people to kill each other if they so wished? Britain, with her two parties, was more hesitating. The
1827. battle of Navarino, which set Greece free, was for Wellington and his followers an unfortunate blunder. When Russia now became a sort of over-lord in the Balkans, British suspicion of her grew, until the idea of preserving the Turkish Empire in order to keep Russia from the Mediterranean became the chief object in the foreign policy of the English Conservatives.

1830. France took Algiers from Turkey, and Russia estab-
1833. lished an alliance with the Sultan to help him to defeat Mehemet Ali. Britain and France came forward, somewhat hurriedly, with advice; the Sultan was embarrassed by the rush of friends. Metternich, as far as he was inclined to take sides, was for the Sultan against the rebellious Mehemet; and Berlin echoed Vienna. Russian
1839. influence at Constantinople was supreme. Britain, dissatisfied and fidgety, took Aden. France alone supported
1840. Mehemet against the Sultan, and when Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia joined in the Quadruple Alliance in defence of the Sultan, when British fleets bombarded Acre and Beyrout, held by Mehemet Ali, there was an end of the plan of an alliance between two Western "liberal" nations against the Emperors farther East. National interest had swept away the hopes and plans of the "liberals" of many countries. In the eyes of many Frenchmen, England had gone over to the enemy, while Russia, who had but the other day refused to admit Turkey into Europe, had herself brought her in, as Russia's ally, restored in power and guaranteed. Turkey had become a European State under the international law of Europe. We may mark this as the second step.

It was part of the agreement that Turkey should reform and civilise herself. While Sultan Mahmoud and his Minister Reschid were engaged upon this hopeless task, the Emperor Nicholas came to England to make arrangements about the funeral of the sick man of the East—that is, Turkey. Nicholas did not pretend to have any faith in Turkish power of reforming herself. The only doubt in his mind was whether Turkey was dying or already dead. The important thing was to agree about the funeral and to settle the clauses of the will. Those clauses we have already mentioned, and we have seen how Britain, after this visit, became more determined than ever to support the Turkish Empire, and to prevent it being broken up. It was chiefly for this object that England fought in the Crimea. A British statesman, one who had been a strong supporter of this English answer to the Eastern question, said long afterwards that in the Crimean War we "put our money on the wrong horse."

Turkish Reform.

(Page 168.)

Lord Salisbury.

This made the third step, ending with the Peace of Paris. Turkey was to reform herself still more, especially in her treatment of her Christian subjects. Russia lost her control over Turkey, who now regarded Britain and France as her most useful friends. Western Europe had checked Russia by supporting Turkey. France and Britain pressed Turkey to improve her government, offering help and advice. France suggested that the subjects of the Sultan, whatever their religion might be, should be treated as equal before the law. Russia said this was sheer nonsense and quite impossible. The law in Turkey was purely religious. It was based on the Koran, and a Muhammadan could only treat a Christian as his equal in the eyes of the law by denying his religion. The only way, said Russia, was to separate the Christians from the Muhammadans, putting each under his own laws. As a matter of fact, this is what has really been done in the Balkans. It meant, among other things, breaking up the Ottoman Empire, which was a very good thing in Russia's eyes. British statesmen, however, did not like it, though as the years went on they objected less strongly. It was

1856.

not Turkey that they wished to protect, but the route to India. Nor did they object to the new states being carved out of the Turkish Empire, but to Russia controlling those states, and to Turkey being made too weak to withstand Russia.

PART IV

1875–1919

NATIONALIST IMPERIALISM

THE ARMED PEACE AND THE GREAT WAR

CHAPTER XX

THE BRITISH ISLES AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE 1875–1914

I. Disraeli and Gladstone, 1875–1894

From the Conservative Ministry of 1874 to the Coalition of 1914, British political history is easily divided into two periods. In the first of these, we have as outstanding figures in politics, Benjamin Disraeli, afterwards Earl of Beaconsfield, and William Ewart Gladstone. The distinctive mark of the Disraeli Ministry is the doctrine of Imperialism, a doctrine that has influenced, in its higher or its lower forms, the history of Europe, and indeed of the civilised world, for about forty years. Like most doctrines, it was not new, except in just the way that it was put at this time and in this country. But it began now to overshadow the idea of nationality. It is quite easy to explain that it is really another way of expressing the idea of nationality, or that it is opposed to nationality. For we may regard an Empire as a larger nation, or as the control of one nation over others.

Imperialism.

Disraeli and Gladstone.

History is partly the story of remarkable men and women, partly an explanation of movement, change, and growth. The movement and the change are greater things than the story of any one man can be, but persons are more interesting than movements. Disraeli was a particularly interesting man. He himself was more interesting than his work was important, although much of his work was of considerable importance. For his rival, Gladstone, we could with more truth turn this description

Persons and Movements.

Disraeli.

the other way round. Disraeli began his career as a Radical and a reformer. Later, he formed a "Young England" Party, in which the chief idea was that the young men of noble birth should undertake the task of uplifting and improving the people of England. Nothing of importance came of this. Disraeli's idea of Imperialism was the one that he developed most fully, and this was his distinctive work. "The Cause of the Tory Party," he said, "is the cause of the British Empire." To build up the Empire more firmly, to encourage an understanding between Britain and her colonies, he held to be the great duty of a statesman.

Foreign Affairs.

Therefore he looked abroad more than at home. He helped to secure the path to India by buying nearly half the shares of the Suez Canal Company. The Canal was a French undertaking, which had been carried through against strong English opposition. It was opened for traffic just before the Franco-Prussian War, and to a maritime nation like Britain, especially interested in the Indian and Chinese trade, it was more important than to any other nation. The shares that Disraeli bought from the Khedive of Egypt for the English Government, have proved a very profitable investment.

1875. Suez Canal.

1869.

1876–77. "Empress of India."

The next year, by Act of Parliament, Queen Victoria was made Empress of India, and Disraeli became the Earl of Beaconsfield. He was now in the full tide of power and his plan of government was to rally the nation to the work of strengthening Church, Crown, and Empire; the Crown, Church, and their supporters, for their part, working to improve the condition of the people. In the midst of these plans, or dreams, as his opponents called them, came trouble from the West and from the East, from Ireland and from Turkey.

Irish Obstruction.

The Irish Members of the House of Commons, under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell, began a definite plan of hindering the work of the House of Commons by making many long speeches and moving great numbers of amendments. Upon one occasion they kept the House sitting for twenty-six hours. Their object was to force

1877.

Parliament to attend to Irish affairs, by preventing it from attending to anything else. In Ireland itself a Land League was formed, with the main object of turning the Irish farm-tenants into small owners. The demands of the League were put into the cry for the "Three F's"— fair rent, fixity of tenure, free sale. The movement was supported by Irishmen in the United States, and many thousands of pounds were sent across the Atlantic to the League.

1879. Land League.

"Three F's."

Turkish affairs at this time divided the two British parties as sharply as perhaps they have ever been divided on any question of foreign policy. There came news of a rising of the Balkan Christians against the Turks; of frightful massacres in Bulgaria, which stirred Gladstone to passionate speeches and writings; of a threatened Russian invasion of Turkey. Through all the stir and all the cries for the deliverance of the Balkan Christians, Beaconsfield held firmly to the plan of protecting British interests by maintaining Turkey, or as much of it as could be maintained, against the fear and threat of Russian advance. No Briton is satisfied, to-day, that the plan was a good one; but suspicion of Russia at this time was at the bottom of all Britain's action in the East. When Russia, Austria, Prussia, with the approval of France and Italy, threatened the Sultan with coercion unless the Turkish troops were recalled from the revolting provinces, Britain withheld approval, and sent a fleet to the Dardanelles. Later, when a Russian army was threatening Constantinople, a British squadron covered that army with its guns. By this time, most of the feeling in Britain had turned in support of Beaconsfield, for a Russian control of the Bosphorus seemed dangerously close. The war was ended by a treaty which would have established a new Bulgaria stretching across the Peninsula. Such a State, it was thought (by Russians and Britons alike) would be under Russian control, and Britain called for a European settlement. This was effected at Berlin, where a new map of the Balkans was drawn up. Beaconsfield returned from

Bulgarian Massacres. 1876.

Russia and the Balkans.

1876.

San Stefano Treaty, 1878.

Treaty of Berlin, 1878.

the Congress of Berlin claiming that he had secured 'peace with honour.' Peace indeed was secured, but it could not be lasting, as the story of the Balkans to this day has shown.

Home Affairs.

At home, an important step was taken in the Labour movement. Disraeli had no sympathy with the ideas of the "Manchester merchants," and neither he nor his party was so keen about *laissez faire* as were the Liberals. His Government passed an Act that was to be of vast importance in the history of Trade Unions, for it granted, for the first time, the right of "peaceful picketing"—that is, men on strike were allowed to dissuade others from taking their places. At the same time, it was established that men should no longer be liable to imprisonment for refusing to work according to agreements made; and the acts of a Trade Union were not to be held as crimes unless the same acts committed by single persons would be crimes. These changes acted like a spur to the growing Trade Union movement. It was about this time that a Union had been formed among the agricultural labourers, a class of men so poor and so scattered as to be very difficult to form into any kind of Union. Prices were falling, and with them, the wages fell at about the same rate. The year 1883 marks the top of a wave in prices, but not in wages, which began to rise again a few years later.

Trade Unions Act, 1875.

1872.

1880. Gladstone.

Gladstone's return to power might have been taken as a sign that less would be heard of Imperial affairs, and more of reforms at home. There were important reforms, but there were also events happening overseas of equal importance. The third of the series of great Reform Acts was passed, which gave the right of voting to agricultural labourers, as the second Reform Act had given it to their brothers in the towns. An accompanying Act rearranged the voting power of the country. These Acts came at the close of Gladstone's period of office, though we mention them first. There was an election, and Gladstone returned to power, only to lose it over the question of Home Rule.

Third Reform Act, 1885.

Irish affairs, indeed, troubled his whole term of office. The Irish Land Act of 1881 was an attempt to secure the "Three F's" for the Irish peasant. Rents were to be fixed by a Land Court, and the Government undertook to make loans to tenants who wished to buy their farms. The rents, once fixed, were not to be altered for fifteen years. In these fifteen years, prices fell nearly thirty per cent, which was to the tenants nearly as if their rents had been raised year by year. The ill-fortune that has so often attended Ireland seemed to cling to her here also.

IRELAND. Land Act, 1881. 1881–96.

But the Irish leaders would be satisfied with nothing less than self-government for Ireland. Obstruction in the Commons, "boycotting," outrages, even murders, marked these years of struggle and violence. The Chief Secretary and the Under Secretary for Ireland were murdered in a Dublin park in broad daylight. Irish leaders were imprisoned, and Ireland was put under a kind of martial law. Attempts were made to blow up public buildings, including one attempt on the House of Commons.

Irish Disorder. 1882. 1883–85. 1885.

Then suddenly, as it seemed, Gladstone declared himself in favour of granting Home Rule to Ireland, and his party split in two. A Home Rule Bill was introduced into the Commons, and was lost. A dissolution followed, and Lord Salisbury came into power.

Home Rule Split. 1886.

Meanwhile, in South Africa, much had been happening. The Transvaal was annexed as British territory, after a rather hasty enquiry among the inhabitants. It soon became plain that many of the Boers objected to coming under British rule, and two of them were sent to London to ask that the independence of the country should be restored. The request was refused, and the Boers took up arms. There were several small battles or skirmishes, and in all of them the Boers were successful. At Majuba, a height held by a British force was stormed and taken. Meanwhile, in England, Gladstone had agreed to restore the Transvaal to independence as "The South African Republic," but under British suzerainty. There

South Africa. First Boer War, 1880–81. Majuba, 1881. 1881.

was some sharp criticism of this act, because it seemed like weakness after defeat. Gladstone's view was that the annexation had been made under the mistaken idea that the Boers desired it. There had already been native troubles in South Africa The warlike Zulus had only lately been subdued, at Ulundi, after they had won a considerable success over a British force. These Zulus had been a danger to the Transvaal, before it was annexed, and the removal of that danger was of great benefit to the Republic when it was set up again.

Zulu War. 1879.

Egypt. 1863–79.

The troubles of South Africa were followed by disturbances in Egypt. The Khedive Ismail, who had sold his Suez Canal shares to Britain, spent huge sums of money which he raised partly by very heavy taxes and partly by loans from French and British bankers. The country seemed likely to become bankrupt, when the French and British Governments interfered and took control of the finances of Egypt. Ismail naturally objected to this arrangement, and the French and British Governments got the Sultan, his over-lord, to depose him, and to appoint a new Khedive, Tewfik. Almost immediately afterwards, a revolt broke out in the Egyptian army, under Ahmed Arabi. It grew into a nationalist movement, with "Egypt for the Egyptians" for its cry. There was a serious riot at Alexandria, where French and British fleets had anchored. The French Admiral decided not to interfere, but the British vessels bombarded the forts. A British army was sent to Egypt, and the Egyptian forces were beaten at Tel-el-Kebir. The British now scarcely knew what to do; but France very decidedly wanted to know what Britain was going to do. Finally the British Ministry said that they would act only as advisers to the Khedive and declared Britain to be "desirous of withdrawing (the army) as soon as the state of the country would admit of it."

Dual Control, 1876; and 1879.

Alexandria. 1882.

1882.

Difficulties arose at once. The Egyptian Sudan was in revolt, under a Mahdi (Leader, Messiah) who waged a fierce and successful war against the Egyptian troops. The British Ministry, faced with the prospect of another

The Mahdi.

campaign, determined to abandon the Sudan. But it was necessary, first of all, to withdraw the garrisons, and General Gordon was sent to see this done. He went, without any army, and was besieged in Khartoum by the Mahdist warriors. There was a loud cry in Britain for his rescue, a cry all the stronger because Gordon was a man of the heroic type of the old knights errant. After some delay, a relief force was sent. It reached Khartoum two days after the place had been stormed. Gordon and his Egyptian soldiers lay dead in the streets. Nearly ten years passed away before a British force again entered Khartoum.

Gordon. 1884.

Khartum. 1885.

Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister as the head of the new combination of Conservatives with those Liberal Unionists who had broken with Gladstone over the question of Home Rule. Here was a combination of Disraeli's Imperialists with the newer kind of Liberal reformers, headed by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. Their six years of office were marked by Labour troubles, a reform of local government, and the introduction of free education in elementary schools.

Lord Salisbury. 1886–92.

The bad harvest of 1879 was followed by a period of low wages and falling prices. Attention began to be drawn to the condition of the poor. Books were written about the East End of London, and the newspapers spoke of the "sweated trades," which had been described long before in Kingsley's *Alton Locke*. The new religious body which took the name of the Salvation Army, and which worked chiefly among the poorest classes, helped to call attention to the state of the "submerged tenth." The Commons enquired into the housing of the poor, the Lords into the conditions of sweated labour. Socialism, which had scarcely yet been heard of by most Englishmen, became the doctrine of a small party. The Trade Unions, keeping to the older Radical ideas, declared against the Socialists. It was not until later that Socialist ideas, which had long been adopted by the working men of Germany and France, had any great number of supporters in the British Trade Unions.

Labour. 1887.

Socialism.

Dock Strike. 1889.

There were, however, a series of strikes, many of them successful. The most famous was the London Dock Strike, which won for the dockers their claim for sixpence an hour. New Unions were formed rapidly, and numbers increased in the older Unions. There was a change of plan, too. The Unions began to be regarded less as sick-clubs and benefit societies than as fighting machines. To bargain with employers, to fight in a strike as a trained army fights in a battle, to have the case for Labour well placed, and constantly placed, before Parliament and the smaller authorities, these were the chief aims of the New Unionism. Further, the different Unions, from those of the highly skilled workers to those of the poorest labourers, began to be more friendly towards each other, for, broadly speaking, they had the same ends in view.

1889–90.

1889–90.

County Councils Act. 1888.

The great Act of this Government was the Local Government Act, generally called the County Councils Act, since it set up in each county a small elected parliament—the County Council. Ever since the time of Edward III., the smaller affairs of the countryside had been managed by Justices of the Peace, usually the chief landowners of the district. Their powers had grown; but now most of these powers were taken over by the new Councils and the Justices were left simply to act as magistrates. The Act was chiefly due to the Liberal Unionists of the Government. It was followed by Acts for improving the housing of the poor and for securing allotments in country districts.

(1460.)

1890.

1891.

Ireland.

Lord Salisbury had said that what Ireland needed was "twenty years of resolute government." He put his plan into practice, and Ireland under Mr. Arthur Balfour was ruled with a strictness that some called coercion. The Irish Nationalists formed a "Plan of Campaign," and encouraged tenants to refuse to pay rents held to be excessive. This was met by an Act for suppressing crime in Ireland. There was strong Irish opposition to the Bill in the Commons, and it was met by the first use of what is called "the guillotine," by which the speeches on the Bill were cut short. Many Irish Members of

Plan of Campaign. 1886.

1887.

Parliament were imprisoned. *The Times* newspaper accused Parnell of encouraging crime in Ireland; but the charge was founded upon letters that were proved afterwards to be forgeries. Another Land Act for Ireland was passed, arranging for the Government to spend £33,000,000 in buying Irish land, to be sold to the tenants, who would pay by instalments. 1887–88. Pigott Forgery. Land Act, 1891.

Mr. Gladstone returned to power, for the fourth time, and at once brought forward another Home Rule Bill. There was a furious discussion in the Commons before the Bill was passed, and at one time some of the Members came to blows. The Lords threw out the Bill by four hundred votes against forty. Bills for the payment of Members of Parliament, the abolition of plural voting, employers' liability for accidents, an eight-hours day for miners, and some others were withdrawn owing to the opposition of the Lords. The chief Act passed was that to set up Parish Councils, so completing a whole series of elected bodies, from the village to the nation. The Budget of the same year marked a new step in laying taxes on inherited wealth—the Death Duties, as they came to be called. 1892. Home Rule. 1893. Parish Councils Act. 1894. Death Duties. 1894.

Mr. Gladstone, now in his eighty-fifth year, withdrew from public affairs, flinging one last speech at the House of Lords. The Ministry was carried on under Lord Rosebery, but it soon collapsed. While the old Gladstonian party was ending its career, a new political party was coming into existence. An independent Labour Party was formed, and its first representatives in the House of Commons, John Burns and Keir Hardie, happened to be men whose careers afterwards aroused some interest. Labour Members were not a new feature in the House. What was new was the idea of a separate Labour Party. 1894. Rosebery. 1895. Independent Labour Party. 1893.

The year that Queen Victoria was declared Empress of India was marked by a fearful famine, through which about five million people perished. This was the third famine in ten years, and the most appalling. The drought affected the greater part of Asia, and far more perished in China even than in India. The great difficulty was in India. 1877. Famine. (1866, 1868.)

moving food quickly into the suffering districts, and this fact hastened the construction of Indian railways.

Afghanistan.

British India and the Russian Empire, in their constant advance, were finally separated only by Afghanistan, and both Governments began to negotiate with the Amir. Britain demanded control of the Khaibar Pass, the main

1878.

gateway into India. It was refused, and a British force

Afghan War.

took Kabul. But in the year following, the British representatives left in Kabul were murdered. There was a second invasion, marked by the famous march of General

1880.

Roberts from Kabul to Kandahar; and a ruler friendly to Britain—or as friendly as could be found—was set up.

Burma, 1885. (1824, 1852.)

A quarrel with another native ruler, King Thebaw of Burma, led to the third and last Burmese war, and Burma was added to British India.

CANADA. 1870, 1885.

In Canada, there were two risings, of which the second, under Louis Riel, was only checked after a year of fighting.

C.P.R., 1885.

As it ceased, the Canadian Pacific Railway across the continent was completed, and the west and east of Canada were joined.

Chartered Companies.

It was a mark of this period, and an expression of the new Imperialist feeling, that ruling companies were formed, somewhat after the fashion of the old East India

1886, 1888, 1889.

Company: the Royal Niger Company, the Imperial British East Africa Company, and the British South Africa Company. Protectorates were declared over North Borneo, Zanzibar, British Central Africa, Uganda, the

1889–95.

Solomon Islands. It was a period of rapid expansion of the Empire in Asia and in Africa.

Scramble for Africa.

All this was a part of the desire for Empire that was so strong among the Powers at the time. The most striking part of the whole movement was what has been quite fairly called the scramble for Africa. That continent, in 1815, was truly a "Dark Continent," and most of it was unknown. Turkey held the north, Morocco being independent; Britain held the Cape, taken from the Dutch. The interior was a blank on our maps; the coasts were dotted, especially on the west, with a few trading stations, mostly Portuguese or English. Explorers and

missionaries gradually made the continent known. Speke and Baker traced the Nile, Livingstone the Zambesi, Stanley the Congo. In the '80's came the scramble. France took Tunis, and Britain occupied Egypt. Leopold II. of Belgium formed what was mainly a trading company of the Congo. A Conference of the Powers was held at Berlin, where the Congo region was marked out as a kind of independent reserve state for the natives, under the protection of Leopold II. In reality, it became his personal property, and for him a very profitable one. The Congress was chiefly a body for drawing up rules for the partition of Africa. It showed the desire of the nations to become Empires and colonial powers, the change from the idea of the nation to the idea of the Empire.

1858, 1864. 1840–73. 1874–78. 1881. 1884. Congo Free State. 1884–85.

II. Imperialism and the New Liberalism, 1895–1914

(*a*) 1895–1906

The twenty years after 1895 are years of rising prices, broken only by two short falls. The twenty years before 1895 made a period of rapidly falling prices, with, again, two slight rises. We have already noted the effect of the new gold from California and Australia in sending prices up in the early '50's. Later, there came the discovery of a great new goldfield in South Africa, and a sharp rise of prices when the mines began to be worked on a large scale. We can notice, also, that a clear period of European wars ends in 1871, and that nearly twenty years of peace then begins, with only small wars, for the most part. Thus, after 1871, there is less destruction of crops, houses, bridges, and all the things men make. They become more plentiful, and so they become cheaper—that is, prices fall. As prices fall, profits and wages fall, and a struggle arises between masters and men as to how the burden shall be divided. A like thing happens when it is a question of sharing the gains of rising prices. Rising prices does not always mean rising wages, for much depends on the strength of one party or the other to get all

Prices. 1900–2. 1907–8. 1879–80. 1886–90. 1886. 1855–71. Profits and Wages.

or most of the increase. So the Unions, which had been strengthened in the '80's, had a great deal to do with securing a rise of wages when the rise of prices began. Between 1880 and 1900, wages rose 30 per cent. They rose faster than prices, so that what are called "real wages," that is, reckoning spending power, rose about 40 per cent. The spending power of a sovereign in 1895 fell to eighteen shillings in 1904, to seventeen shillings in 1911. One other thing we must bear in mind: these figures (wages) do not reckon in the people with the lowest wages, but only those of the members of the great Trade Unions.

Salisbury—Balfour.

This period, like the last, divides politically into two halves, and of these the first covers the Conservative-Unionist Ministry under Lord Salisbury (succeeded later

1902.

by Mr. Balfour) and Mr. Chamberlain. The work of the Ministry can easily be divided into Imperialist development and home reforms; but although it is roughly true to say that these represented the two parties in the Government, yet it is also true that the two parties rapidly grew into one, and accepted many of each other's ideas.

At home, the Ministry dealt with questions of labour, education, Irish land, and the government of London.

1880. Employers' Liability Act.

Mr. Gladstone had passed an Act to compel employers to pay damages when a workman was injured or killed at his work. The Act was not very satisfactory, and large firms met it by having an "accident fund" of their own, which they asked their workers to use instead of the Employers' Liability Act. This was called "contracting out," and it was declared, when a case was tried at court,

1882. Law and Parliament.

to be legal. It is a peculiarity of English law, that Acts of Parliament are constantly modified by the decisions of judges; and of course such changes are approved by the gainers and condemned by the losers. Acts connected with labour have been modified by judges in several important cases; and the Trade Unions and employers have expressed very strong (and quite different) opinions

1897.

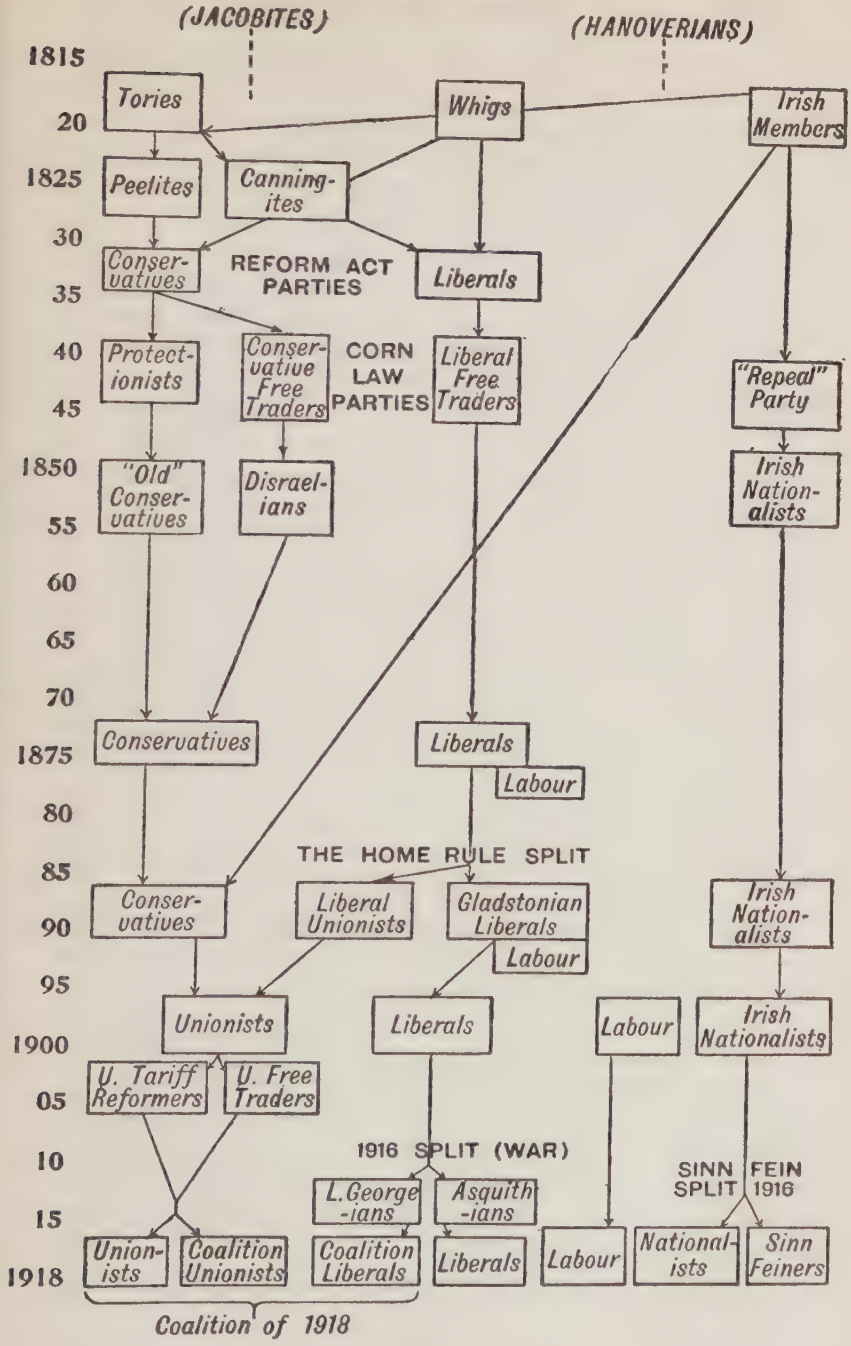
about the decisions. In this case, a new Act was passed to make "contracting out" more difficult, and later,

1900.

agricultural labourers were brought under the Act.

Diagram IV

GROWTH OF BRITISH PARTIES SINCE 1815



Taff Vale. 1902.

Another judicial decision against Trade Unions was given at this time, and was upheld by the House of Lords, when a Trade Union of railwaymen was ordered to pay £23,000 damages to the Taff Vale (Wales) Railway Company for encouraging men to break their contracts by striking. This made all "picketing" illegal, and it made Trade Unions liable to be fined for the acts of its officials. They had not been so liable, in practice, since the passing of the Act of 1871, and they now claimed to be put back in their former position of security. The Unions prepared for a struggle, and their members were trebled in numbers in two years. The Taff Vale case had a considerable influence in the rise of a distinct Labour Party in the Commons at the election following. Meanwhile, a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into trade disputes.

1902–4.

Labour Party.

1903.

Education Act, 1902.

The first Education Act of the century was criticised with heat, because it granted public money without securing what its opponents (mainly the Liberal Nonconformists) thought to be sufficient public control. The "Voluntary Schools," built and managed chiefly by the Church of England, were enabled to receive help from the local rates, equally with the "Board Schools," managed by elected bodies. The "School Boards" were abolished, and the newly established Councils were given charge of both sets of schools, except that the old "Voluntary Schools" were controlled by committees, of which two-thirds represented the founders of the school —usually a Church or religious body. This arrangement aroused such feeling, that a movement of "Passive Resistance" to the Act was begun. Thousands of Nonconformists refused to pay their rates, and were summoned and fined. The opposition did not grow greater with time, but less, and the change was helped by features of the Act that were very generally approved. On the whole, both schools and scholars gained. The same body that controlled Elementary Education now had some control of Secondary Education also; and the elections for the Councils were not held, as many of the

Passive Resistance.

School Board elections had been held, in the manner of a religious contest.

In Ireland, another Land Act completed the scheme of buying land and selling it to the tenants. Councils for towns and for counties were set up to manage local affairs; and a new department was formed, with Sir Horace Plunkett at its head, to control and assist Irish agriculture. IRELAND. Land Act. 1903. 1898. 1899.

The government of London was reorganised by an Act which swept away a number of small bodies, and set up twenty-eight Boroughs, each with its Mayor and Council. London. 1899.

But it was not to home affairs that attention was chiefly turned. The end of the nineteenth century saw the new Imperialist spirit put to the test in South Africa, where a quarrel developed that became a struggle between the idea of a wide empire and the idea of small nationalities. That struggle is only one of many that are likely to take place until there is some settlement in the civilised world of the parts that are to be played by small and by large states, by separate nations and by great unions of states, such as we commonly call Empires. SOUTH AFRICA.

A change came over the South African Republic after the discovery of gold in the Rand hills. Miners poured in from outside, and their numbers increased until in a few years they formed about half the population of the country. They began to claim a share in the government, urging that they paid most of the taxes. The Boers refused to enfranchise them, declaring that they and their fathers had emigrated into the wilds to secure their freedom, and that to give votes to the Uitlanders (outlanders, foreigners) would be to surrender all power to them. The Uitlanders, being mostly British, looked to the British Government and to Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony, to help them. Suddenly, there came news of the invasion of the Transvaal by a small body of troopers under Dr. Jameson—the "Jameson Raid." The force was overpowered by the Boers, and the leaders were handed over to the British Government 1884. Uitlanders. 1890. Jameson Raid, 1895.

for trial. They were punished, but too lightly, as the Boers thought. The Transvaal Government was now more resolute than ever to refuse anything like full enfranchisement to the Uitlanders.

1899. Boer War. When war broke out, both sides were confident of success. In the first phase of the war, the British armies were brought to a standstill after a series of battles, ending with three serious British defeats in one week. In the second phase, larger British forces overcame the Boer armies, and took the two Boer capitals, Bloemfontein and Pretoria—for the Orange Free State threw in her lot with the Transvaal. The third stage was

1902. a guerilla war, ending finally with the Peace of Vereeniging, by which the two States were added to the British Empire, the British Government undertaking to pay three million pounds to restore the country.

The war was marked by several features, many of which had important after-effects. It struck a blow at the "shoulder to shoulder" method, and showed (as indeed had often been shown before) the value of mobility and of accurate shooting. The British newspapers played an active part in the war, and through them the Boers often got information of which they made good use. Foreign opinion was on the whole against Britain, as was natural where a small nation was fighting a great Empire; and many Britons openly opposed the whole Government policy.

Imperial Federation. The most striking development of the Imperialist feeling of the time was in the efforts made towards a Federation of the Empire. The war brought Canadians and Australians side by side with British soldiers, and stirred the desire for a closer union. Conferences of

1887–1911. representatives of the colonies began to be held in London, but it was not yet possible to frame a scheme of federation. What has been possible, what has been done, is to establish a better understanding, and so a better feeling, between England and the self-governing colonies. It is by an increasing understanding between friends—and indeed between enemies also—that the world slowly

diminishes the evil that is "wrought by want of thought."

The Salisbury Ministry had made an offer to withdraw the British troops from Egypt in three years, with a right of intervention if need should afterwards arise; but France and Russia mistrusted Britain's good faith, and the whole plan was dropped. The Mahdi, meanwhile, had been poisoned, and his successor had taken the title of Khalifa. In Egypt, a new Anglo-Egyptian army was being slowly created by General Kitchener. When at last it moved up the Nile, building a railway as it advanced and covered by a few gunboats, men's eyes turned to see whether a few years' training could make the peaceful Egyptians able to stand before the fanatical courage of the desert Dervishes. At Omdurman, discipline triumphed over wild courage, and Khartum was taken.

Egypt. 1887. 1890. 1885. Sudan War. 1898.

Immediately came news of a French force on the Nile, farther south, at Fashoda. It had worked its way across the Sudan from the west, and now, after overcoming many hardships, it had planted the French flag on the Nile, in the Sudan which Egypt (and Britain) had abandoned. At this clash of two Imperialist ambitions, there arose the danger of a European war: but France, although excited and angry, would not draw the sword for the Sudan claim, and the Nile valley was left to Anglo-Egyptian rule.

Fashoda.

In India, attention was fixed upon the northern frontiers. Russian and British territories were now in touch on the Pamirs, and a Commission of the two Powers settled the frontier. There were small wars in Chitral and Tirah; and a British force advanced into Tibet, entering the mysterious city of Lhassa. Persia now lay where three influences were converging: British from the east, Russian from the north, and German—acting through Turkey—from the west.

India. 1895. 1895. 1897. 1904.

It is in the early years of the twentieth century that we see the Powers regrouping themselves. France and Britain settled their differences by agreeing upon

Alliances.

1898–99. boundaries on the Niger and on the Nile. Old quarrels about Newfoundland and new quarrels about Egypt
L'Entente Cordiale. 1904. were settled by treaty. A good understanding (*L'Entente Cordiale*) was marked by friendly visits of fleets and of representatives. All this changed our relations with
1905. France's ally, Russia. The Triple Entente was beginning to be formed; and at Constantinople it was no longer British but German influence that seemed likely to
1902–5. Japan. support the Turk. Meanwhile, the alliance between Britain and Japan showed that Britain and Russia, though both had travelled far since the Crimean War, were still far from anything that could be called an *entente*.

Australia. In Australia, the six colonies were joined in a single
1899. Commonwealth with a central Parliament. In Canada,
1903. the boundaries of Alaska were fixed, and the North-West Territories came under the general scheme of self-
1897. government. In Africa, the railway from Cape Town
1905. was continued across the Zambesi near the Victoria Falls, and a new line from Mombasa, in British East
1901. Africa, reached Lake Nyanza. With extension of empire we see a process of welding at work. We see the pageantry
1897. of the Imperialist wave in the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria; and we can judge of the strength of the feeling, of its better and of its baser sides, in the writings of those days, especially in the writings of Kipling.

(*b*) 1906–1914

Tariff Reform. The elections of 1906 resulted in an enormous majority for the Liberal Government of Sir Henry Campbell
(1903.) Bannerman. The Tariff Reform movement begun by Mr. Chamberlain was the most vigorous effort at a return to a Protectionist system since the Free Trade victories of the middle of the nineteenth century, although there had been a "Fair Trade" movement in the 'eighties, and an attempt to check foreign competition by "Made in
1887–94. Germany" Acts (the Merchandise Marks Acts) at about the same time. The elections went against the new

"Reformers," and against the extreme Imperialists. But most of all, they brought to Westminster a new force, Labour. Besides a group of Miners' representatives, and another of Liberal-Labour members, there was a solid body of thirty, in the form of a separate and independent Labour Party. In the three groups there were fifty-four members. Labour Party.

The period 1906–1915 was marked by labour disputes, labour questions, and Acts relating chiefly to the working classes. The position of Trade Unions was restored by the Trade Disputes Act to what it had been before the Taff Vale decision. Peaceful picketing was legalised, and Union funds were protected. Acts for extending compensation for injured workmen, and for securing small holdings, followed quickly. The Old Age Pensions Act put into practice an idea that had been discussed and generally approved by men of all parties for some years. It secured payments of five shillings a week to destitute people over seventy years of age. Other countries had already experimented in old age pensions—France, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Australia, New Zealand; but in the case of the first three countries only a small part of the pension was a free grant. The British experiment was remarkable because of the large numbers provided with free pensions—about a million people at the outbreak of the Great War. Another change, long discussed, passed from discussion into law when the Coal Mines Act limited the time of actual working in the mines to eight hours a day. The "eight hours" movement goes back to the revolutionists of 1848, farther back, to Robert Owen, and in some ways to the fifteenth century. Social Reform. Trade Unions. 1906. 1906. 1907. Old Age Pensions. 1908. Eight Hours Act, 1908. (1817.)

Then came a curious parallel to the "Taff Vale" case. By what was called the Osborne Judgment, the House of Lords declared that it was illegal for the Trade Unions to use their funds for political purposes, such as getting Labour representatives into Parliament. In these cases, the House of Lords acts as the highest court of law, and it is not the whole House, but a body Osborne Judgment. 1909.

1913. of law-lords that decides. The Trade Unions Act was passed to reverse this decision. It permitted Trade Unions to have a political fund, but payment to it was not to be compulsory. Meanwhile, an Act granting £400 a year to Members of Parliament had been passed, which relieved the Unions from supporting their members after they had been elected.

Payment of Members. 1911.

An attempt to deal systematically with the difficulties of unemployment was made in establishing Labour Exchanges, a plan which already had been largely used in Germany. The Trade Boards Act, passed at the same time, was modelled on Australian experience. It was the first important attempt in Britain to deal with "sweating." It was applied at first to four badly-paid trades; and some of the results were remarkable. The chain-makers of Staffordshire, for example, had their wages increased in three years by an average of 35 per cent—in some cases 100 per cent—and without any injury to the trade, or any increase in unemployment. The increase in the price of the chains made was about three-fifths of the increase in wages.

Labour Exchanges. 1909.

Trade Boards. 1909.

1911. Insurance Act.

The Insurance Act aroused opposition, as a similar law in Germany had done, from the Socialists as well as from sections of the wealthier classes. It forms an important part of the State scheme which was being so rapidly built up, and those who opposed the general idea of the whole scheme of those Acts centred their attack chiefly upon the Insurance Act.

Syndicalism (See also page 234.)

The early years of the century had seen the rise of a new Labour movement in France under the name of Syndicalism. It expressed the disappointment of many of the workers with the results of their efforts in co-operation, trade unionism, and representation in Parliament. It set out to try to bring about a system where the railway workers would control the railways, and so in other trades. The wave of the movement reached Britain about ten years after its rise in France. It found vent in a series of strikes, of which the chief were those of miners and the railwaymen. In the midst of a great

1910–12.

1912.

strike of a million miners, an Act was passed to establish a minimum wage in the industry.

The New State.

Thus was swept away the last hope of those whose beliefs still clung to the idea of *laissez faire*. Instead of confining its work to the protection of life and property, the State was now managing or controlling a great part of the lives of its members. Government had grown to be something enormously greater, more active, than perhaps any one a century earlier could have dreamed possible. How much of it all is wise, how much is lasting, is a question that men will not cease to debate for many a long year yet. The old Liberals set up *laissez faire* and resisted the early Acts that interfered between employer and workman. The new Liberals tore down *laissez faire*, and set up the "interfering State." In both cases the Conservatives opposed them, so that the new Conservatives often used the arguments of the old Liberals. Party is after all only a rough way of dividing men, even in connection with their opinions.

Old and New Liberalism.

Woman Suffrage.

The demand of a large number of women that Parliamentary votes should not be confined to men was brought very sharply before the nation by the sudden growth of very active societies of women, notably the Women's Social and Political Union, which began to wage a sort of war upon the Government. There were attempts to force a way into the House to present petitions, windows were broken, Ministers were attacked, questions were put at political meetings to force attention to the franchise question. Both the great parties were divided within themselves on the question; the Labour Party favoured the women's claim, but its power and influence were too small to be effective, and it always reserved its full strength for purely Labour questions. Many women, when imprisoned for making disturbances, adopted a form of "passive resistance" by refusing food in prison. The Government was bewildered by this move, and met it partly by a method of forcible feeding, partly by releasing the women when they had become dangerously weak. Meanwhile, women had been voting in County Council

1903.

1888.

elections for a dozen years, and were eligible to become members of County Councils.

1907.

The Budget. 1909.

The rejection of the Budget of 1909 by the House of Lords was the chief incident in a sharp struggle with the Second Chamber. The House of Lords had never till now contested the claim of the Lower House that "supplies and aids . . . are the sole gift of the Commons," and although the Lords had prevented the passage of several Bills during the last four years, many doubted, until the last moment, that they would reject a Budget. A dissolution and an election followed. The Government was returned to office, though its majority now depended on Irish and Labour support. The Budget was passed by the Lords; but the question of restricting the power of the Upper House had arisen. The death of the King brought about a truce. A conference of the leaders of the two parties was called, but no agreement was reached. There was another dissolution and another election, which was marked by a declaration from Mr. Balfour in favour of using the method of the Referendum. The Government was once more returned, with its Coalition majority almost unaltered. A Parliament Act was passed, depriving the Lords of any power over a "Money Bill," and limiting their power of veto to three Parliamentary sessions.

(1678.)

1910 (Jan.).

1910.

1910 (Dec.).

Parliament Act, 1911.

Home Rule. 1914.

The Third Home Rule Bill was the first measure to become an Act under this new arrangement, receiving the Royal Assent after being passed by the Commons in three sessions, and rejected by the Lords each time. But the Great War had broken out; party strife became weak in the red light of war, and the action of the Act was suspended until the return of peace.

South Africa. 1909.

A very bold step was taken to try to establish peace in South Africa. An Act for the Union of South Africa was passed, after being first prepared by the colonies concerned. The Transvaal and Orange River Colony became part of a great African self-governing dominion, with Louis Botha, a Boer General, for its first Premier. Another African question was settled at about the same time. In response to a demand for labour in the gold

1910.

mines, indentured Chinese coolies had been imported into South Africa. The system was hotly attacked, and defended; the Chinese were finally deported from the colony. There were protests from many Hindus when restrictions were laid on native Indians in Natal; and there were serious labour difficulties in Johannesburg, which led finally to some of the strike leaders being deported from the country—an illegal act on the part of the Ministry, which was approved and legalised afterwards by an Indemnity Bill.

Chinese Labour. 1910.

1913.

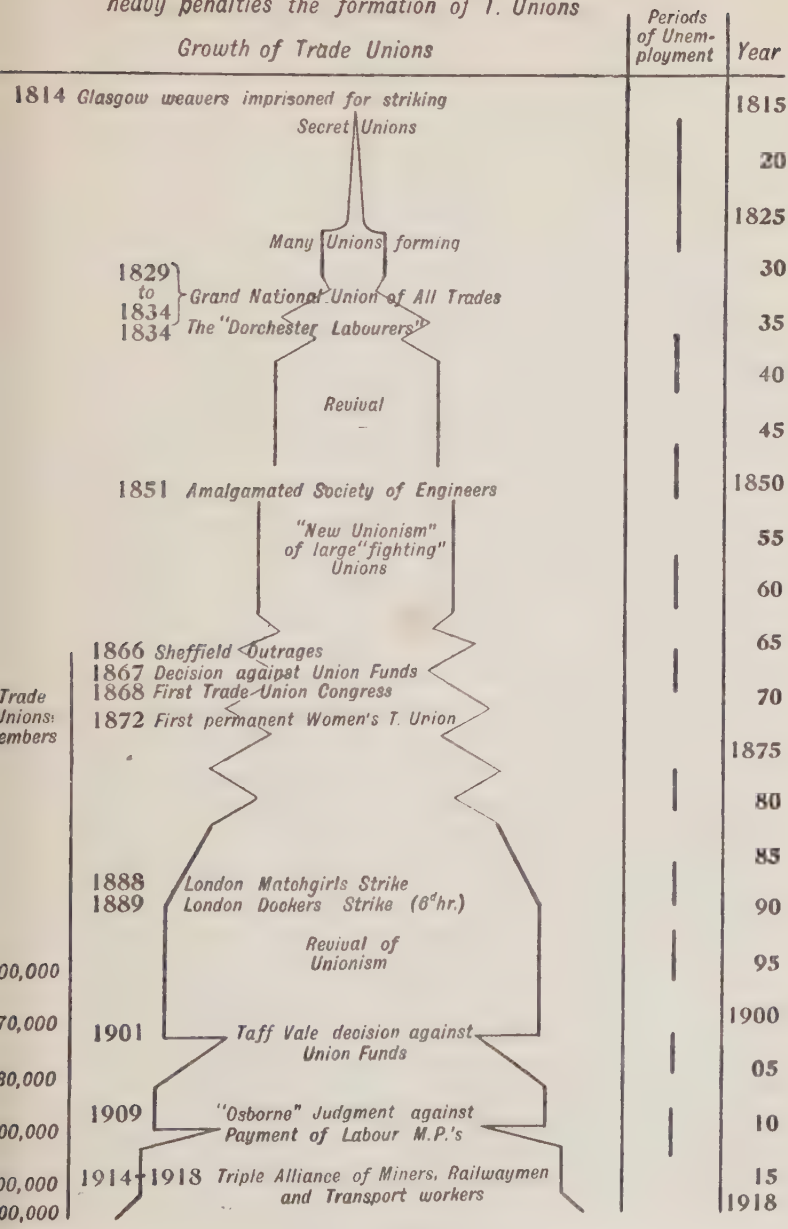
1913.

1914.

Diagram V **LABOUR MOVEMENTS**

Trade Unions first appear after about 1700

Year	In Parliament	Outside Parliament	"Labour" in Parliament		
1815					
20	"Six Acts" (1819)				
1825	T.U. Act, permitting Collective Bargaining (1825)				
30					
35					
40		The Chartist Movement (1837-42)	"No Politics"		
45		Co-operative Movement "Rochdale Pioneers" (1844)			
1850					
55					
60					
65	"Master & Servant Act" Imprisonment for refusal to work (1867)				
70	Act protecting T.U. funds (1871)	Unions abandon the plan of "no politics" (1871)		"Liberal Labour" Members	Labour Party Members
1875	"Peaceful picketing" allowed (1875)		1874	2	–
80	Act of 1867 repealed (1876)	First English Socialist Societies (1880)	1880	3	–
85			1885	11	–
			1886	10	–
90			1892	15	–
95			1895	12	–
1900		Labour Representation Committee (1900)	1900	9	2
05	Trade Disputes Act protecting T.U. funds (1906)		1906	21	31
10		Syndicalist Movement (1910)	1910	7	39
	T.U. Act permitting		1910	6	42
15	Payment of M.P.s 1913			N.D. Party	
1918			1918	10	59


The Combination Acts 1799 & 1800 forbade under heavy penalties the formation of T. Unions
Growth of Trade Unions
Periods of Unemployment
Year
1814 Glasgow weavers imprisoned for striking
Secret Unions
Many Unions forming
1829 to 1834 Grand National Union of All Trades
1834 The "Dorchester Labourers"
Revival
1851 Amalgamated Society of Engineers
"New Unionism" of large "fighting" Unions
1866 Sheffield Outrages
1867 Decision against Union Funds
1868 First Trade Union Congress
1872 First permanent Women's T. Union
1888 London Matchgirls Strike
1889 London Dockers Strike (6d hr.)
Revival of Unionism
1901 Taff Vale decision against Union Funds
1909 "Osborne" Judgment against Payment of Labour M.P.'s
1914–1918 Triple Alliance of Miners, Railwaymen and Transport workers
Trade Unions: embers
00,000
70,000
30,000
00,000
00,000
00,000
1815
20
1825
30
35
40
45
1850
55
60
65
70
1875
80
85
90
95
1900
05
10
15
1918

CHAPTER XXI

WESTERN EUROPE, 1875–1914

I. FRANCE AND HER NEW EMPIRE, 1870–1914

WHILE France had been binding her wounds, while she was gathering money to pay off the indemnity, and to get rid of the German troops that remained—a menace for to-morrow, a reminder of the humiliation of yesterday —even then she was brooding over the question of what manner of New France was now to arise. We have already touched upon the terrible story of one attempt (1871.) at answering the question: the story of the Paris Commune. That solution was now dead and drowned; drowned, unhappily, in French blood. What answers still remained? The Imperialists (Buonapartists) were silenced by the disaster that had ended the Empire of Napoleon III. Such faint hopes as they still held were centred on the Empress Eugénie and her son, now exiles in England; and a few years later, those hopes fell when the son died 1879. in Africa, the victim of a Zulu spear. The Monarchists and the Republicans alone had such answers to offer as France was ready to consider.

There was no instant declaration of a Republic after the peace, though there had been one after Sedan. The Assembly at Bordeaux had left that question to the nation, 1871. themselves electing only a "Chief of Executive Power" but adding "of the French Republic." It was Thiers. Thiers and the Monarchists. The feeling in France was on the whole for a Republic; but the Assembly was Monarchist. Thiers himself was a Monarchist, but his chief concern was for France. This

Monarchist head of an unsettled Republic steered his way towards safety for France, while advice and directions were showered upon him from three Republican and three Royalist groups. "The Monarchy!" said the Comte de Falloux to him. "Of course," replied Thiers, "but time will be wanted." He fought for time, listening for the voice of France among and below the voices of partisans. He was for a Monarchy, but it must be a united Monarchy; it must also be like "a Republic with an hereditary President." Meanwhile, the Republic stood. The Monarchists made their effort, settled their differences, and united to support the Comte de Chambord ("Henry V."), grandson of Charles X. The Comte de Chambord, Bourbon to the last, cast away his chances over a symbol, and by an act that was itself a symbol. He would not adopt the tricolour in the place of the flag of the old French kings.

Struggle of the Republic.

The career of the new Republic since 1871 had been a struggle to exist, to establish itself, to overcome its opponents within, to guard itself from attack from without, to express and to satisfy the desires of France, both national and Imperial. It fought first with the Royalists, who were supported by the political party of the Church, the Clericals. "Clericalism!" cried Gambetta, "there is the enemy!" Later, it fought the Church herself, to whose support now came the disappointed Royalists. It founded a new Empire, and lived through a movement that threatened to set up another Dictator. It suffered from scandals; and towards the end of the period it was beset with Labour problems. Yet when once again there came German troops invading France, the Third Republic, after forty-three years of storm, held firm.

Clericalism. 1872.

1871–1914.

1871–73.

The dissatisfaction of the Monarchist majority with Thiers—now President of the Republic—ended in his resignation. Marshal Macmahon was elected President by the Chambers, to prepare the way for the Monarchy. The Royalist parties were united in preventing a permanent Republic, and in giving the Church all possible support. A great pilgrimage was arranged: it was hoped to restore

1873.

in one strong movement the ancient powers and rule of the Pope at Rome and of the king in France. The Comte de Chambord was to be king, and the Comte de Paris, son of Louis Philippe, his successor. The difficulty about the flag could be settled later. The Buonapartists voted, on the whole, with the Legitimists and Orleanists, making a united Monarchist party.

Meanwhile, the Republicans were winning by-elections, and when at last definite steps were taken, the Republican form remained. By the Constitution of 1875 there was set up a Government not very different from that of Britain but with a President in place of the king. A new election sent to the Chamber a Republican majority, and a struggle between the President and the Chamber began. It ended with the victory of the Republicans and the resignation of Macmahon. He was succeeded by a Republican, Jules Grévy, and there began a distinct period of Republican rule, which lasted for five years. It was, to use the nearest English terms, a time when the Liberals were in office. Laws aimed against the Church were passed. A system of free compulsory education (elementary) was built up. Freedom of speech and of the Press were established. Working men were granted the legal right to form Trade Unions (*Syndicats*).

1875.

1876.

1879.

Republican Liberalism.

1881–86.

1884.

The Republicans—that is, the political party in power—began now to quarrel among themselves, and chiefly over foreign policy. The "eighties" saw a wave of Imperialism sweep over Europe, and the French Ministry was extending its control to Tunis, Madagascar, Tonkin, and the Congo. Many Republicans disliked these adventures; and when a scandal arose about President Grévy's son-in-law selling honours, the Ministry fell. Almost immediately, a "sham Napoleon" appeared. This was General Boulanger, Minister of War, a dashing soldier, a vigorous speaker, and a patriot of the kind that is often called Jingo or Chauvinist. For a while his popularity was extraordinary, and perhaps, if he had been bold enough, he might have taken command of France. But when his chance was greatest he let it slip by. The

Empire.

Boulangism.

1886–89.

Government summoned him for conspiring against the State. He fled to Belgium, and with that act his fortunes fell. Two years later he committed suicide. 1889.

The fall of "Boulangism" strengthened the Republic and weakened those who had given their approval to the "sham Napoleon,"—chiefly the Royalists and the Clericals, who had supported Boulanger, not because they liked him, but because through him they could attack the Republic. The Royalist vote fell to half its number at the next election. 1889.

The Republic had a few years of calm and safety during which its chief act was to set up a protective tariff. 1892.

But it was soon to be shaken again by a new event. It was declared that much of the money invested in the Company engaged upon the Panama Canal had never got any further than the pockets of the directors and their friends. Panama Scandals. An enquiry was made, and the directors —many of them closely connected with the Government —came out very badly. 1892. The Republic sank very low in the regard of honest men both in and out of France, for many of its leaders had profited in what was proved to be a dishonourable business.

Then, upon the heels of the "Panama affair," came the "Dreyfus affair." Dreyfus. It was not like the Canal incident except in one respect—that is, that it shook the Government of France. A Jewish army captain was accused by a newspaper of betraying France to Germany. 1894. He was tried, condemned, and sent to Devil's Island (*Île de diable*), French Guiana. Later, Colonel Picquart, of the War Office, declared that the letter supposed to have been written by Captain Dreyfus was a forgery. 1896. Picquart was sent on foreign service. In a short while France was torn by a furious discussion, whose echoes rang over the world. The army is to France what the navy is to England; and Frenchmen rightly felt alarmed at a hint of treason amongst its officers. But the struggle was not only national; it was political and religious as well. The keener Republicans, the Socialists, the Protestants, the people of no particular religion, the literary men—these were chiefly among the defenders of Dreyfus; the Clericals

1899 and 1906. and the Royalists were certain of his guilt. Further trials made it plain that Dreyfus was innocent: the forger of the letter committed suicide.

The supporters of the Republic felt that the country had been near to a revolution. They declared that it was necessary for the State to have a firmer control over the leaders of the army and over religious bodies, and they at once began to procure this control.

The Church. The struggle which now began between the Government and the Church was fierce and bitter, as all such struggles are.

1901. The Association Law declared that all religious bodies should be separately authorised by the State. Many monasteries and convents were closed.

1907. The State took education almost entirely out of the hands of the Church. By the Separation Law, the last of a long series of Acts, the Government of the Republic ended its connection with any form of religion, and handed over Church property to the Associations of Public Worship.

Syndicalism. (See also page 224.) The next struggle of the Republic was with a new rebellious force that came to be known generally as Syndicalism. The Syndicalists, like the Socialists, wished to make great changes in the way that the wealth of the nation is owned or shared by its citizens. Unlike the Socialists they thought little of laws or Parliaments. Here they were in some agreement with the Anarchists. Their most promising idea was to give a share in the management of each industry to the workers engaged in it. Their method was the strike, and particularly the General Strike—of the whole of the workers of the country if possible. This was a plan for forcing a "redress of grievances" that had been warmly debated in Robert Owen's time. But it proved no more successful in the early years of the twentieth century than in the early years of the nineteenth. As a shrewd Frenchman pointed out, a general strike needs very general public support if it is to succeed; it must not be a mere attempt to hold the nation up for ransom.

Alliances. Meanwhile, France was fitting herself into a new grouping of the European nations. She allied herself with

Russia ; and after the accession of Edward VII. she began 1891.
to come to friendly understanding (*entente*) with Britain,
which became a formal and definite Entente when France 1904.
left Britain a free hand in Egypt, and Britain did the
like for France in regard to Morocco. Russia had become
a weak ally at the time, for she had just ended her disas-
trous war with Japan, and was trembling on the brink
of revolution. France therefore turned readily to Britain,
and Britain, who in the 'nineties had thought the Franco-
Russian Alliance aimed at herself, was now looking more
closely across the North Sea. The last preparation that
France made for the calamity that was to fall upon Europe
was to increase her military strength by changing the two 1913.
years' training of her conscripts into three. This change
was in answer to the German Army Bill, by which the
army of that country was greatly increased.

In the space of about fifty years France had built up The New French Empire.
an Empire, in Africa and in Asia. By a series of expedi-
tions and annexations, she gained in succession Saigon, 1863, 1865,
Cambodia, Tonkin, Cochin China, and Annam. This 1867, 1884.
being accompanied by British expansion in Further India
brought the two Powers on the opposite borders of Siam. Asia.
An agreement was made, by which a definite independent 1896.
Siam was marked out, to be respected by both Powers.

In Africa the French gains began with Tunis, and shortly Africa.
afterwards control over the great island of Madagascar 1881.
was begun, ending in a few years with complete annexation. 1885, 1896.
In West Africa, meanwhile, Dahomey was conquered. 1892.
Farther north, French power was developing not only from
Tunis, but also from Algiers. The British had bombarded (1816.)
that nest of pirates ; the French took and held it. There 1830.
were many wars with the tribes before and after Algeria
was annexed, and fighting was continuous as French
control moved farther south. When the dispute over the
Fashoda affair was settled, and a boundary was agreed
upon to separate British and French spheres in the Sudan, 1899.
an immense area of Northern Africa, from the Atlantic
to the Nile valley, from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of
Guinea, was marked out under French control.

Morocco. 1904. 1911. 1906. 1909.

The next movements were concerned with Morocco. By a treaty with Britain, French control over Morocco and British control over Egypt were mutually recognised. This treaty had secret clauses, which were not made public until seven years later. When Wilhelm II. made a speech at Tangier, declaring the Sultan of Morocco to be free and independent, the French Minister, Delcassé, was inclined to take the speech as a challenge from Germany (as it was) and to defy it. But France was disinclined to quarrel. Delcassé resigned, and the question of Morocco was left to a Conference at Algeciras (Spain). The Conference gave France and Spain the right to "police" Morocco. But when a French army marched to Fez, a German cruiser was sent to a Moroccan port, Agadir. An agreement between France and Germany ended the difficulties. Germany accepted a slice of French Congo territory, and agreed to make no further claims in Morocco. Her real aim upon both occasions had probably been to test whether Britain would be ready to support France. If that were so, the answer was plain enough in Britain's prompt and ready support.

II. Western Europe, 1875–1915

Spain. 1873–74. Alphonso XII. 1875. Alphonso XIII. 1885.

The Spanish Republic lasted for a little under two years. The Monarchy, it was said, had "died of internal decomposition." The Republic failed because most Spaniards understood little, and cared little, for Republican ideas. It did not last long enough to secure recognition from any country but the United States, and when the army Generals declared for the son of Isabella II. Spain accepted the new ruler, Alphonso XII., a youth of seventeen years, with a feeling of relief. There was a new Constitution, which set up a Parliamentary government. The two parties which now formed themselves built up very quickly an arrangement by which they shared the benefits of office in turn, while going through a form of holding elections. There was no change when the king died, and the Queen Maria Christina became regent,

acting for her infant son. This was Alphonso XIII., who later married an English princess. 1906.

It was while France was building up a new Empire that Spain lost her East Indian and West Indian possessions, the last of her once splendid Empire. The world had moved too quickly for Spain. She had not learned the newer ways of government at home, or the newer ways of dealing with a colony. There had been Cuba. a long and costly rebellion in Cuba, that was only ended 1868–1878. by promises to give the Cubans self-government. The promises were forgotten, and revolt broke out again. 1895. This time, the attention of the world, and more especially the attention of the United States, was drawn to the unhappy island by the severity of the Spanish commander, General Weyler, who was nicknamed "The Butcher." The Cubans were determined on independence, and they were confident of help from America. War broke out between Spain and the United States. The Spanish 1898. fleets, badly equipped and ill-prepared, were destroyed, one at Manila and one at Santiago (Cuba). The United States took the Philippines and Porto Rico; Cuba was Treaty of made independent, and a Cuban Republic was set up. Paris, 1898. 1901.

It is probable that Spain herself gained rather than lost by these changes, for her possessions had been a heavy drain upon her. Yet she entered upon another adventure for territory, and out of it came an event that drew the attention of the civilised world. Some Morocco. mines in Morocco were opened by Spanish companies, 1909. and quarrels with the native tribes broke out, growing quickly into a war. Many Spaniards, especially in and about Barcelona, disliked the war, partly because of the heavy loss of life, partly because they thought it a profit-makers' war. A riot broke out in Barcelona, and Riots. monasteries and churches were attacked. The riot was suppressed, and among those arrested was Francisco Ferrer. Ferrer, who had founded schools in Spain where science, but not religion, was taught. He was tried, condemned, 1909. and shot; and everywhere in Europe there was an outcry that Ferrer had been unjustly sacrificed by the

Church party in Spain. The Spanish Premier was shortly forced to resign, and a Liberal Government came into office. The Moroccan war was brought to an end, Spain holding a strip of coast. Meanwhile, Alphonso XIII. was grown to manhood. He did not lend himself to any extreme party or faction, and the storms, of one kind or of another, settled into something like peacefulness.

Portugal. 1861–99. During the reign of Luiz I. there came the new interest in colonies, the new desire for possessions, which marked the Imperialist feeling in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. A dispute with Britain over the ownership of Delagoa Bay—settled in favour of Portugal —revived Portuguese memories of former glories. A claim was put forward, when Africa was being divided among the Powers, to a stretch of territory right across the continent, in the Zambesi region. This was resisted by Britain, who was interested in the plans which grew, under the influence of Cecil Rhodes, into the annexation of Rhodesia. For some years, there was bad feeling between the two countries.

Delagoa. 1875.

1891. When Brazil dismissed Pedro II., and proclaimed herself a Republic, there was a rising of Republicans in Oporto. It was suppressed, but so harshly, that opinion turned strongly against the king (Carlos). The government was bad, the taxes heavy, and the Court extravagant. Like Charles I. of England, the king appointed a despotic Minister, Franco. Parliament was dissolved, newspapers suppressed, meetings forbidden. Two years later, the king and his eldest son were assassinated.

1889–1908.

1906.

1908.

Manoel II. King Manoel II., a youth of eighteen years, became King of Portugal for a brief spell; but matters did not improve. The next convulsion swept away king and Court, and the Portuguese Republic began its career. The first stages were marked by a fierce attack upon the Church. The new leaders were scholars, lawyers, writers, and those who were no lovers of priests. But troubles came from another source. The workers found themselves no better off under the Republic than they had been before. There were strikes and riots, and the Republican

Republic. 1910.

Government took control of the Press, and imprisoned its enemies quite in the old manner. There were some Royalist plots, but they came to little. The Republic was still weak, but its enemies were weaker; and it stood.

BELGIUM.

The later years of Belgian history were years of conflict. The great struggles were over voting power, education, wages, and labour; and the strife has always been more or less connected with religious feeling. The disputes of the last thirty-five years have often taken the form of threatening or attempting violence to the Government; and curiously enough it was the Catholic-Conservative party that first used the method, though others, especially the Socialists, were quick enough to learn it.

EDUCATION.

1879.

1884.

1913.

The first use of the threat-and-riot method occurred when an Education Act withdrew the State grants of money from most of the Church schools. The agitation was successful, and something like the former system was restored, giving the Church control of a great part of the education of the country. The last stage in the movement was in making education compulsory; for in many districts only a third of the people could read or write.

FRANCHISE.

1831.

1848.

1890–93.

1893.

The Constitution had only given the right to vote to those who paid about £7 a year in direct taxes. This was reduced to £2; but the working class was still unfranchised. Agitation for a wider suffrage ended in a number of serious "political strikes," so serious that the Government gave way. But the new Franchise Act gave the better-off people two or three votes each. The working classes, forming the greater part of the nation, had only about a third of the total votes; and they remained dissatisfied.

LABOUR.

1885.

1886–94.

1899.

Labour questions came to the front when a Labour Party first appeared in Parliament. There were many strikes and riots at the time, and the discontent was the cause of several laws being passed, dealing with questions of labour and of housing. The Government grew alarmed at the growth of Socialism, and several Socialist leaders were prosecuted. The trials did not check the growth

1890–93. of Socialism, but rather the opposite, and the "political strikes" just mentioned were followed by the appearance of twenty-nine Socialist Members in the Chamber. Shortly before the Great War there was another series
1911–14. of Acts. Education was made compulsory, an Insurance Act and an Old Age Pensions Act were passed. At the
1913. same time, an Army Act, resulting from an increase in the German army, provided for an increase and an improvement in the land forces. The changes to be made were not completed when the brave little Belgian army found itself overwhelmed by the masses that poured on and through Liége in the summer of 1914.

Belgium in 1914. When that great disaster came, Belgium was an industrious, thriving, densely populated country, whose people had distinguished themselves in agriculture, in manufactures, in art and literature; who had built up a firm-set nation of the modern type, out of a mixture of races and religions; who had added the story of a modern State to a long history and tradition. They had their Imperialism also. The story of the Congo State began with the idea of setting apart a great tract of tropical Africa as a protected native state. It grew into
(1865–1899.) a profit-mongering business, controlled chiefly by King Leopold II. In the last stage, the Belgian nation took
1908. it over as a colony, and began to reform its government.
1909. Its evil memories were quickly forgotten in the reign of King Albert, the twentieth-century pattern of the hero-king.

Holland. The history of Holland since 1874 is a domestic affair, apart from the history of Europe as a whole. We should notice that it is constantly becoming a rarer thing for a
Isolated Nations. country to live out its life in a quiet corner, "minding its own business." The world and its people are slowly becoming a unity, though made up of many different elements, and worked upon by many different forces, some helping to bind the elements, some pulling them apart. We may think of a patchwork quilt, which depends greatly on its many stitches. We may think of a piece of granite, remembering how wind and weather break up even the

hard granite into soft clay for the potter. The world is yet so far from being a unity, that we cannot even be certain that complete unity will ever come. What we can say is that it becomes less and less possible for any nation to live a separate life of its own. It is not very long since the leader of one British party spoke of keeping this country free from "entanglements," while the leader of the other party spoke proudly of our "splendid isolation." But such a country as Britain cannot withdraw herself into any kind of isolation, however splendid.

A quiet life, however, has been possible for Holland. 1849–90.
In the remaining portion of the reign of William III., the chief change that came was a new Act, trebling the number 1887.
of voters and rearranging the Houses of Parliament. Holland had a constant worry from abroad in her own Colonial Empire, over the Achinese War in Sumatra, lasting for thirty years, costing many millions in money, 1873–1904.
and causing many bitter disputes at home. Another event from abroad disturbed her still more violently—the Boer War in South Africa. The Cape had been her own 1899–1902.
colony, the Boers spoke a Dutch tongue (Taal) and were largely of Dutch descent. It was natural, therefore, that the sympathies of Holland should be strongly with the Boers throughout the struggle.

At the same time, the strife for the control of education was marked by a victory for the Conservative Party. 1876.
State money had by an earlier Act been given only to State schools. It was now granted also to what we may 1889.
call "Church" schools.

The earlier years of the young queen were marked by another Franchise Act, which doubled the number of 1896.
voters. There followed a Military Act, which established a system of compulsory service. We may notice, in 1898.
connection with preparations for war, the preparations for peace which began to take shape in Holland. The The Hague.
Tsar Nicholas II. had suggested a Conference of the nations 1898.
to consider ways of checking the growing burden of armaments. The first Peace Conference met at the Hague in the following year. Most of the representatives of the 1899.

nations agreed in deploring the increasing burden of armaments; but General von Schwartzhoff, for Germany, denied that his country felt the cost of armaments, or considered military service as a burden at all. The chief work done was that an optional Court of Arbitration was set up.

1907. At the second Conference there were forty-four states represented, as against twenty-six at the first meeting. The chief work done was in drawing up a list of Conventions intended to lessen the horrors of war. The nations agreed to forbid the use of poison, the bombardment of undefended towns, violation of neutral territory, laying down contact mines, seizing enemy property (this last excluding cases where the seizure is demanded by the necessities of war). It was recalled, in 1914–15, that Germany had set her signature to these articles.

The opening of the twentieth century saw Holland a prosperous country. She was not without her troubles, within and without. The Achinese war ended only to
1904. re-open. There was industrial unrest, with an unsuccess-
1903. ful attempt of a General Strike. There was uneasiness at the position of the country if a war—now beginning to threaten—were to break out between Germany and Britain. Some thought the land frontier should be strengthened; others called for coast defences. But through all these troubles the country was thriving. The trade of Rotterdam, for example, increased thirty-fold in the thirty years that followed 1870.

LUXEMBURG. 1890. When Queen Wilhelmina ascended the throne of Holland, the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, which had remained under Dutch monarchs since 1815, passed to the nearest male heir, the Duke of Nassau. Like Belgium,
(1867.) Luxemburg had been guaranteed by the Powers as a neutral state. The proposal to make Luxemburg neutral was first made by Prussia.

SWITZERLAND. (1869.) The decision of the canton of Zurich to adopt the method of the Referendum was only one of a long series of experiments. The next important step was its adoption
1874. by the Republic generally; and when the right of Initiative

was added, the method of direct government was in full trial. It did not quite take the place of representative government, but was added to it, with the idea of increasing the actual governing-power of the citizens, and, of course, lessening the power of elected members and of governments. Its advantages and disadvantages are still discussed. It is in use, on a small scale, in the United States and in Australia. A form of Referendum has been suggested in Britain for settling great party disputes—Tariff Reform, Home Rule, and difficulties connected with the House of Lords. 1891. 1909–11.

There was a religious struggle between the Catholics and the Liberal Republicans (chiefly Protestants), which brought about a small civil war in one canton; and the dispute was ended by still another method of government being adopted—Proportional Representation. The effect is, that members are elected in proportion to the number of votes cast for the various parties and groups. This method also has been suggested for use in Britain, and was used to a limited extent in the election of 1918. It had been pointed out, after the elections of January 1906, that the Unionists, with nearly 44 per cent of votes, returned 141 members, whilst the Liberals, with less than 48 per cent of votes, secured 342 seats. The election of 1918 produced a similar disproportion. 1870–78. 1890. Proportional Representation.

Switzerland has been, and continues to be, a safe home for political refugees. But the Swiss people, while protecting revolutionaries of many kinds, do not to any great extent join hands with their visitors. For the most part, they attend diligently to their own affairs.

CHAPTER XXII

CENTRAL EUROPE, 1875–1914

GERMANY. THE period of German growth and development that came after 1870 was quite un-English in some important respects; that is, it was conscious, it was directed from above, it was prepared for and guided by the rulers of the State. Those rulers—the Royal Court at Berlin, the Prussian nobles, the army chiefs—were not loved by all the German people, nor by all the German states. But they were feared and respected. They had built up a Germany of which every German could be proud.

State Control.

Anti-Socialist Laws. When the struggle between Church and State was ended, Bismarck turned his attention to the Socialists. These also had great faith in the State; but in a State controlled by the mass of the nation, which was not Bismarck's idea at all. He had nothing but scorn for democracy. When attempts were made on the life of the Emperor—by Socialists, though not by the Socialist party—strict laws were passed which prevented all Socialist meetings, speeches, newspapers. The laws remained in force, with additions, for twelve years. But the Socialist vote during that period rose from half a million to a million and a half.

1878 and 1880.

State Socialism. Bismarck did not depend on severity alone, however. Like a true Prussian he believed in State management, even in State Socialism; but it must be controlled from above, not from below. He had certain conversations with a brilliant Socialist leader, Lassalle. He threw over the Liberals, and turned for support to the Conservative and Catholic party. He took up some of the ideas and

plans of a group of German economists, "Socialists of the Chair," as they were nicknamed; and out of all this there came to be built up a strong, new, industrial Germany; not free trade, but protectionist, not Liberal, but Conservative-Socialist, not troubling about men as men, but about servants of the State.

Tariff.

So far, the new Germany had been built up by free trade. Now began a series of laws establishing a "scientific" protective tariff. There followed a period of slightly lower duties, to secure some advantages with other countries, and then a return to high tariffs. Meanwhile, the Emperor took up the idea of Christian Socialism. A small State fund was set aside, to pay pensions or allowances to workers disabled by accidents, sickness, or old age. The system is now well enough known in this country, for it served in many ways as a model for the British Insurance Act. But the German scheme was built up gradually, beginning with insurance against accidents. Allowances for sickness, and small pensions in old age, were added later.

(1) 1879.
1885.
1887.
(2) 1892–96.
(3) 1903.
(1911.)
1883.
1891.

The State Machine.

Year by year there was being built up a huge Nation-Machine, with a kind of excellence that had never before been reached. The wall of protection outside the nation, free trade within, sanatoria for workers helpless through sickness—these were but parts of a great effort at training and ordering a nation. Schools were multiplied and improved; rivers were deepened, canals dug; a huge army was ceaselessly trained and drilled; a great navy was planned and begun. Germany became known for her thoroughness and excellence in a thousand things, from pianos to dyes. German scholars, German science, German goods, both cheap and dear—but for the most part cheap—became known throughout the world. The victories over Austria and France seemed but stepping-stones in a career that was certainly wonderful, and was certainly not yet ended. Over Germany, controlling and directing, was Prussia; over Prussia, a group of nobles and generals, supported by the many words of many professors, scholars of world-wide fame; over

these, the House of Hohenzollern, the Kaiser, ruling, by divine right, through obedient soldiers and officials, an obedient nation. The Socialists, ever growing in numbers, criticised and grumbled; but they were powerless. They also were little parts of the Great Nation-Machine that was being made, and as the machine worked, they played their parts, however they might grumble. There was orderliness, intelligence, care, learning, watchfulness, thoroughness. The Machine grew, and grew more perfect. It was praised, and deserved to be praised. It was feared, and deserved to be feared. But it had to be paid for, and the payment made and demanded was liberty. This, too, was not altogether an evil. It is society that creates liberty; and society, through the State, must have the right to take away some liberties, to create others, even as it takes away a bully's liberty to brawl in the streets, to give good citizens fuller liberty to walk in those streets. But the Machine took away liberty, and did not always give back a wider liberty. For liberty, it often gave efficiency: and that it gave fully and thoroughly.

Imperialism.

When the wave of Imperialism reached Germany, as it reached other countries, the craving for colonies, for Empire, expressed itself. Bismarck cared little for colonies, but the Imperialists were too strong for him.

1884. Great territories in South-West Africa, Kamerun, and Togoland were taken over; and a year later, a large

1885. block of East Africa became German. These possessions were confirmed by the agreements among the Powers that arranged what is called the Partition of Africa.

1898. A port was demanded from China—Kiaou-chow. The

1899. Caroline and Ladrone Islands were bought from Spain;

1900. and the addition of two of the Samoan Islands established Germany in the Pacific. German steamers began to ply across all the oceans, bearing products of well-managed German factories, that had been taken to Hamburg or Bremen, at cheap rates, by the well-managed State railways. A German liner made the fastest passage across the Atlantic, and entered Dover harbour with the ironic placard, "Made in Germany."

With these and many other triumphs, there were difficulties at home. The Socialist vote continued to increase, as did the Socialist members in the Reichstag, in spite of a system of voting that held their growth in check. Alsace-Lorraine was an unwilling member of the Empire; the Poles in the east would not be Germanised. Bismarck was conscious of dangers within and without. He kept friendly with Russia, until he offended her by supporting Austria at the Treaty of Berlin. Then he made a treaty with Austria by which each country bound itself to support the other if attacked by Russia. When France took Tunis, Italy was offended, for she held her own claim to Tunis to be stronger than that of France. Bismarck saw his chance, and drew Italy into what was called now the Triple Alliance.

Home. Troubles. 1878. 1879. Triple Alliance. 1882.

On the death of William I., his son Frederick III. of Prussia became Emperor. Frederick had married Victoria, daughter of the Queen of England, and he was known to prefer a type of Parliamentary government like that of Britain. But his reign lasted only a few months, and Frederick's son, William II., a young man of twenty-nine, became Emperor. There was no more talk of a powerful Parliament; but much of a powerful Emperor. William II. had the ideas, not of his father or mother, but of his grandfather, William I., and of Bismarck. But, unlike his grandfather, he desired to rule by his own power, not through Bismarck or any one else. Bismarck was dismissed (*Punch* called it, in a famous cartoon, "Dropping the Pilot"); and the young Emperor took charge of the Ship of State.

1888. Wilhelm II. 1888. 1890.

No longer did one great Iron Chancellor control the great new State; no longer was the Emperor in any sense a figurehead. Chancellor succeeded Chancellor; Caprivi, Hohenlohe, Bülow, Bethmann-Hollweg; but the Kaiser not only reigned, he ruled. The immediate quarrel seems to have been over Bismarck's idea of renewing the laws against the Socialists. William II. had some hopes of winning them over, chiefly by laws intended to lighten the burdens of the working class. But the attempt

1890–1894. 1894–1900. 1900–1909. 1909–1917. Socialists.

1912. failed. The Socialist vote grew, until it reached four and a quarter millions—over a third of the total votes of the Empire, and was represented by a hundred and ten members in the Reichstag—the largest party there. Many thought that in this there was at least a sign of peace, for the Socialists were at deadly enmity with the military group. Others thought that fear of the Socialist growth would spur the militarists to a foreign war, before their power was sapped by this silent civil war within the Empire. Some dreamt of a great revolution in Germany. But nationality is a more powerful force than any political creed. It can overcome even religious
(1588.) feelings, as it did when Catholic Englishmen fought against the Catholic Armada. The Socialists and the militarists of the Empire were all of them Germans, proud of their nation, its history, its successes; hopeful of its great future.

The Navy. The Kaiser, meanwhile, had determined to add a great navy to his great army. "Our future," he said,
1897. "lies on the water." A naval officer, von Tirpitz, became Secretary of State and presented the first of a series of
1898. Navy Acts, by which the new German Navy was built up. There was quite a strong feeling in Germany against the idea of a big navy; but it was gradually turned into
1900. a craving for sea-power. The next Navy Act came when Britain was embarrassed by the Boer War, and when British cruisers were examining German ships going to South Africa. "Germany must have a Fleet of such strength," said the Act, "that even for the greatest naval power, a war with her would involve such risks
1898. as to imperil its own supremacy." A Navy League was
(1890.) founded; Heligoland, recently acquired from Britain,
1895. was made a powerful naval base; the Kiel Canal was completed. The Act of 1900 doubled Germany's strength at sea.

1905-6. The coming of the new type of battleship, the "Dreadnought," made it possible for Germany to start almost level with Britain in the important matter of the strongest ships; and the chance was seized.

A suggestion from Britain that a plan for limiting armaments might be found, was coolly received. A slackening in the speed of naval increase in Britain was answered by a quickening of pace in Germany. The Act of 1912 secured for Germany a Fleet second only to that of Britain. The Army Act that followed practically established universal service, making an increase of a third. The appearance of a Dreadnought had given check to the German Navy in one important respect: it made the Kiel Canal useless for the big ships of the line. The deepening of the canal was begun forthwith, and was completed in about nine years. And now all was done. Germany was ready for war. 1905-6. 1913. 1905. 1905-14.

The power that Hungary had obtained in Austria was kept, and during the Ministry of Count Taafe, the German Austrians lost much of the control they had enjoyed in the Empire. Not the Magyars only, but also the Czechs of Bohemia and the Poles of Galicia secured some powers of local government. This arrangement eased the friction that was natural in a State of so many races, and a time of comparative prosperity accompanied the Taafe Ministry. It was the more welcome as it followed on the disagreements over Bosnia. The Emperor, with the support of the nobles, set to work eagerly to secure the new Austrian gain—a result of the Treaty of Berlin; but most Austrians and Magyars looked upon Bosnia as a new source of expense to the Empire, as indeed it was. AUSTRIA. 1879-93. (1878.)

Just as Bismarck allied himself, now with the Liberals, now with the Conservatives, so the Emperor of Austria sought support from different party groups. There were in Austrian politics not only the rival races, but religious divisions and the usual political parties as well. No single party could hope to outnumber all the others, so that alliances were constantly made. The Bohemians split into a Conservative Old Czech and a Radical Young Czech party; and Socialist parties grew rapidly throughout the Empire. There were fierce discussions in the Reichsrat, and anti-Socialist measures were passed as in Germany. Austrian Parties. 1882-85.

Within the Austrian Empire there were difficulties enough, and they were met for the time by playing off different races against each other, now granting something to the Poles or Czechs, now leaving the Magyars to oppress all within their borders. But one difficulty was both within and without—the Slav question. To the south of Austria lay the lands of the southern Slavs, partly within the Empire, partly outside. There was a possibility that these people might unite, might even some day form a great nation stretching from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. The example of Italy was readily to hand. There also had been a group of peoples, partly in the Austrian Empire and partly in small independent states. Now it formed a power that might not always be friendly to Austria. Even the formation of small Slav states, like Serbia, would prevent Austria from expanding to the Mediterranean, which was known to be one of the desires of Vienna. A ruling family, such as the Habsburgs or Hohenzollerns, controls the foreign policy of its country with a view to the family interests; and the aim of the Habsburgs must always be to keep the parts of the Empire centred at Vienna, to prevent any part being gathered round another centre, outside Habsburg control. It has been said that the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne, had other ideas about the Slavs; that he dreamed of setting up, instead of the Dual Empire, a three-fold Empire, German (Austrian), Magyar, and Slav, so taking in the Slavs as partners. The murder of the Archduke ended his plans, whatever they might have been. The only method that Austria has actually tried with her Slav subjects is that of a conqueror, who was sometimes kindly, sometimes severe.

The Slavs.

Family Interests.

1914.

It is in the Balkans, however, that we shall find the key to the movements of Austria. Within the borders of the Empire the story concerns the struggles of the different races, and of the Catholic party, the growing Socialist party, the groups of Conservative land-owners. The Young Czechs joined with the Socialists in a demand for universal suffrage; Bohemia,

Bohemia.

in a tumult, demanded that the Emperor should be crowned at Prague as well as at Pest. Taafe put Prague under martial law instead, but this was followed up by a franchise law. The law first proposed would have trebled the number of voters, but the Conservatives objected to it, and the Emperor supported them. The law that was passed, while it added five million voters to the lists, only allotted to them a sixth of the members of the Reichsrat, the other five-sixths being elected by the two million original voters. Meanwhile, Czech was struggling against German to secure equality of languages, and with some success; members representing Bohemia had to know both languages. For a few years the work of the Reichsrat came to a standstill, first by the obstruction of the Germans, then by that of the Czechs. A new Franchise Act equalised voting power—it was practically manhood suffrage. This came directly from the Emperor, and it brought a period of comparative peace from the strife of races and parties. But it brought also a body of nearly ninety Socialist members, in the place of a dozen.

1896.

1907.

HUNGARY.

Hungary had begun her struggle against Austria for the cause of liberty and of patriotism. The name of her leader, Kossuth, was set with that of the patriot heroes of all peoples struggling to be free. But what was patriotism in Kossuth and in the best of his fellows, became little better than the right to dominate, when Koloman Tisza entered upon his long term as Premier, almost as Dictator. More than half the people of Hungary were not Magyars, but Rumanians, Germans, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs; but under Tisza's rule the Parliament was almost entirely Magyar, with some Jewish and German members. The other races were to be Magyarised, in much the same fashion as the Poles and Alsatians, a little farther north, had been marked out to be Prussianised. Europe had once rung with the name of Hungarian patriots. There were now in Hungary, in those patriots' places, only Magyar Jingoes.

Koloman Tisza. 1875–90.

Magyarisation.

There was plenty of healthy life and vigour in the

country apart from all this, and Hungary developed and prospered. There were struggles, too, quite apart from the struggle of races. The feud between Catholic and Protestant ran constantly through Hungarian politics, and the fight between the autocratic Magyar nobles and the growing democracy was not ended. The House of
1885. Magnates was reduced in numbers from eight hundred to three hundred, of whom fifty were appointed by the Emperor, as King of Hungary. A sharper blow was dealt at the great land-owning nobles when a law was passed by the Upper House, only under the threat of creating new peers. The Magyars have been the Prussians of Hungary. They have shown vigour of government, and they have proved themselves capable. But their energies have partly been taken up in a determined attempt to Magyarise the whole country. In this they found themselves opposed to the national feeling of the other races, and they have no more succeeded than the Prussians in Poland. Meanwhile, the Magyars steadily increased in power and influence. The Hungarian army was made separate and distinct, with Hungarian flags and Magyar officers.

Stephen Tisza. Count Stephen Tisza, son of Koloman Tisza, became Premier of Hungary after a stormy period of struggle. The Emperor was striving to keep as much power as possible in his own hands, the Magyars to gain as much separate power in Hungary as they could. The Emperor had to buy Magyar support by surrendering the control of Hungary and its many races to the Magyars. The position now was this: outside Hungary, the German-Austrian ruled over other races, and the two most important of these races, the Poles and the Czechs, were governed on the whole mildly. The Austrian Pole, for example, had less to complain of than his brothers in Russia and in Prussia. In Hungary, the Magyar ruled. His subject-races were mainly Slavs and Rumanians, and with these the Magyar would not share his power at all. Austria also had her Slav subjects, chiefly in
1878. Bosnia, which she first administered by consent of the

Powers, and then annexed, in defiance of the objections of Britain and Russia. Perhaps Russia might have gone further in her objections, but the Kaiser, "in shining armour" as he said, gave Germany's support to Austria, and Russia was at the time unequal to a serious war. 1908.

The kingdom of Italy was a country with a splendid history, newly formed after centuries of oppression, with a population proud and spirited, but on the whole poor and uneducated. Between a half and three-quarters of the population could neither read nor write. There were few manufactures, no coal mines, and scarcely any supplies of iron. Wars had drained the land and taxes were heavy. It was not till nearly ten years after Rome was entered that the income of the State was equal to the year's expenses. An attempt to improve the education of the country was made by an Act, but as the whole question was left to the small local bodies, the results were not very satisfactory. A further Act, many years later, effected some improvement. ITALY. 1875–1915. 1872. 1879. 1877. 1904.

Italy needed a long period of rest, she needed to secure her safety—for she could not feel herself settled—and to secure a prosperous future. Unfortunately for her, the wave of Imperialism which swept Europe carried her into the rush for colonies at a time when she needed all her strength at home. She would naturally look across the Mediterranean, but France took Tunis, with the consent of Britain and Germany. Only Tripoli was left, and that was part of the Turkish Empire, strongly supported just then by Britain. Italy sought her colonies farther south, and annexed a port on the Red Sea, adding a strip of Red Sea coast and a part of Somaliland. The Imperial policy was quickened by the Premiership of Francesco Crispi, one of Garibaldi's Thousand. But the cost of these adventures was very heavy, and there were protests, which expressed themselves in fierce riots. 1881. 1882. 1885. 1887–91. 1889.

Meanwhile, Italy had found herself in the Triple Alliance with Germany and her old enemy Austria. She mistrusted France, for although Napoleon III. had given her Lombardy, he had taken Nice and Savoy, and had (1859.) 1882.

tried to keep her from taking Rome or Central Italy. Even after the fall of Napoleon III., the French Royalists hated the new kingdom of Italy as an enemy of the Pope. Moreover, if it was France that had given Lombardy, it was
(1866.) Prussia that gave Venetia. Britain had offered a refuge to Italian revolutionists, but she had given no active help to the new kingdom, and just now she was intent on checkmating Russia—and a little later, France also.
1891. Indeed, at the second renewal of the Triple Alliance, Italy was pledged to take her share in invading France, if a war between the Triple and the Dual Alliances should come about.

Meanwhile, the power of the nation over its government was slowly increasing. When Rome became the national
(1871.) capital, the number of voters was not much over half
1882. a million. A Franchise Act raised the number to two millions, the limits being set according to property and
1895. to education. The number was raised by a later Act to nearly three millions. Almost immediately came news of a disaster that brought about the fall of Crispi's second Ministry. The Italian forces on the Red Sea were defeated
1896. with very heavy losses by an Abyssinian army at Adowa. The nation was angered and humiliated; and the idea of foreign conquests was abandoned for a time.

Before Crispi fell, he had been at war with Republican and Socialist parties that had grown up. There had been
1893. many disturbances, with "bread riots" in Sicily, savagely repressed. But the rioting broke out again, and in Milan
1898. there was a fierce insurrection, only ended after many lives had been sacrificed. The Imperialist plans of Crispi and the king were bitterly resented by those on whom the cost fell so heavily, and who saw the country gain little by them but shame and more taxes. Suddenly, all parties were shocked to a halt by the news that King Humbert
1900. had been assassinated by an Italian anarchist.

The new monarch, Victor Emmanuel III., set himself the task of lightening the burdens that lay on the people. With the passing of the Imperialist wave, prosperity began
1906. to show itself. Taxes were lightened, education was

improved. But the troubles were not ended. There was 1904.
an attempt at a General Strike, accompanied by some wild 1904.
destruction of property. The strike failed, as all "general strikes" have done; but the unrest remained. South Italy, the poorest and most ignorant part of the kingdom, was visited by a terrible earthquake that destroyed Messina. Still, the prosperity of the country was increas- 1908.
ing, though slowly, and Italian engineers were at work harnessing the mountain streams to secure electric power to take the place of coal, which Italy lacks. The State took over the Italian railways, and improved them in some 1905.
directions. The revenues increased, but a third of the State income had to go to pay the interest of the national debt.

Then, suddenly as it seemed, Italy seized and annexed Tripoli. She had come to an understanding with Britain 1911.
and with France that if the Turkish Empire were to lose 1902.
its African possessions, her own claim to Tripoli would be respected. Now she feared that Germany might forestall her, for German influence at Constantinople was growing fast, and the Kaiser might appear in the central Mediterranean as he appeared in Morocco. The campaign in Tripoli was costly, but it was successful. It was followed, as the other foreign ventures of Italy had been, by unrest and severe strikes. But Giolitti, the Minister 1912–13.
who had in effect taken Crispi's place, was not an active Imperialist, nor was the king. The Tripoli war was not opposed by a very large section of the population, as the Abyssinian war had been. The strikes were rather a part of the wave of unrest that swept over Europe—with the exception of Germany—in the years before the Great War.

The Triple Alliance had become very weak now, as far as Italy was concerned. Her relations with France had improved. The chief obstacle to her ambitions now was Turkey, and Turkey's friend was Germany, the head of the Alliance. When the war came, the Alliance broke.

CHAPTER XXIII

(*a*) EASTERN EUROPE, 1875–1914; (*b*) NORTHERN EUROPE, 1848–1914

(*a*) EASTERN EUROPE, 1875–1914

I. THE BALKAN STATES, 1875–1914

The Serbs. 1875. (1875–1915.)

WHEN the Serbian peasants of the little Turkish province of Herzegovina rose in revolt against Turkish misrule and taxes, they awoke a sound in Europe that had war for its echoes for forty years. The self-governing Serbs to the north of them, under Prince Milan, and the Serbian mountaineers of Montenegro to the south, under Prince Nicholas, sent them aid. Russian volunteers came to help their "little brother of the Balkans." Bulgarian peasants rose in revolt; and a mob at Salonika murdered the French and British Consuls; for the memory of Crimea was fresh, and France and Britain were the allies of Turkey.

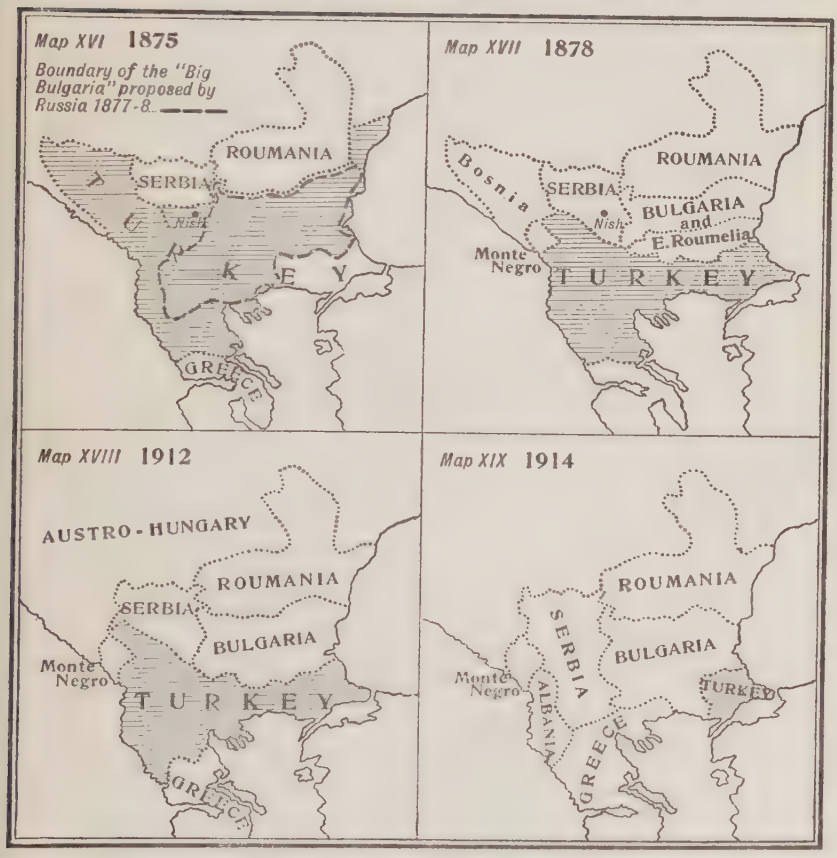
1876.

The Andrassy Note. 1875–76.

The revolt had spread to Bosnia, and Austria became alarmed. Count Andrassy, the Magyar Minister at Vienna, drew up a sharp Note, demanding that Christians and Muhammadans should be treated alike, that tax-farming should be abolished, and further—the really important point—that a controlling body of Christians and Muhammadans should be formed to see that the work was really done. The Note was sent in the joint names of Austria, Russia, and Germany, with the approval, though not the warm approval, of England and France. The Sultan accepted it, as far as promising reforms was

concerned, and Disraeli, for Britain, insisted that Turkey must be allowed time to make the reforms that were needed. Shortly after this, the new party of the Young Turks deposed Abdul Aziz, and set up Mourad V. 1876.

THE BALKANS 1875-1914



The new Sultan became insane, and was followed, five months later, by Abdul Hamid II. (1876–1909.)

In the spring of that year the Turkish troops destroyed with fire and sword in Bulgaria twelve thousand peasants at the least. More than sixty villages were utterly wiped out. In Britain, Gladstone thundered indignantly over Bulgarian Atrocities. 1876.

Widest Extent 1683
Crim Tartary
(Lost 1783 -1792)
Vienna
1812
1699
1699
(1908)
1878
(1885)
1913
Midia
Eng
1881
1830
Map XX
OTTOMAN RULE IN EUROPE.
THE RECEDING WAVE
Turkey of 1878 (Treaty of Berlin)
Turkey before the war of 1914
Bosnia
Partly lost 1878, wholly lost 1908
E. Rumelia
Partly lost 1878, wholly lost 1885

the Bulgarian atrocities, and attacked the policy of supporting Turkey; for, unhappily, it was chiefly a reliance on British support that gave Turkey her opportunity to defy the threats of Russia and Austria.

Another Note, the Berlin Memorandum, was prepared, 1876.
demanding that Turkey should call a truce for two months, and threatening further action if at the end of that time the reforms demanded were not begun. It was approved by all the Powers except Britain. Disraeli sent the British Fleet to Besika Bay, near the Dardanelles. There Besika Bay. 1876.
were violent attacks upon the Ministry in the Commons, and Disraeli defended his policy in one of his brilliant speeches. It was the day before he became Earl of Beaconsfield; it was his last speech in the Commons.

Russia now declared war on Turkey, and Rumania 1877.
joined her as an ally. The Turks—good soldiers always Russo-Turkish War, 1877.
—offered heroic resistance at Plevna, but when Plevna fell, the Russians advanced to Adrianople. The Sultan asked for peace, and the Treaty of San Stefano was signed. San Stefano, 1878.
Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, and Bulgaria were to be independent states. The new Bulgaria was to run from Montenegro to the Aegean and the Black Sea. The Turk was almost to be driven out of Europe, "bag and baggage," as Gladstone had put it.

But a storm of protests arose. Greece and Serbia had claims on parts of this territory. Rumania thought Russia ungrateful. Austria wanted Bosnia, Britain feared that this "Big Bulgaria" would be too pro-Russian. Austria suggested a Congress of the Powers, and a Congress Berlin Congress. 1878.
met at Berlin, with Bismarck for President. Britain had meanwhile promised, by a secret treaty with Turkey, to guarantee the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan, if Russia kept Kars and Batoum, receiving in payment the island of Cyprus. The Congress of Berlin settled the map of the Balkans, in its chief outlines, for over thirty years. 1878–1912.
Serbia received an addition of territory. A "small Bulgaria" was formed, with Eastern Rumelia still under the Sultan, but self-governing; it was absorbed by Bulgaria a few years later. Bosnia and Herzegovina were (1885.)

to be "administered" by Austria. Rumania had to give Bessarabia to Russia, receiving in return the marshy district south of the Danube delta. Rumania did not forget Russia for what she held to be an ungrateful and even treacherous act. Greece too, was disappointed, largely through Britain's unwillingness to see Turkey cut down too much. The Eastern Question was not yet answered. At most the final answer had been postponed. The Earl of Beaconsfield returned from Berlin claiming that he had secured "peace with honour"; but the whole affair is one that Englishmen to-day do not care to dwell upon.

"Peace with Honour."

Abdul Hamid II. 1876–1909.

Abdul Hamid II., after making a feeble display of reforming the government of Turkey according to British and French advice, soon settled into a system of personal government of the worst Eastern form. He lived in his palace, surrounded by his guards, in a constant state of suspicion. British, French, Russian, German influences had more or less weight in Constantinople, but on the whole British influences grew weaker, those of Germany stronger. We may for convenience take the story of the Balkan States in three periods—the '80's, the '90's, and the 1900's.

1880–90. In the '80's, we begin with the gain of Thessaly by

1881. Greece, through the influence of the Western Powers.

1881. Rumania declared herself a kingdom, with Carol I. as

1882. the first monarch. Serbia followed suit under King Milan.

1885–86. When Bulgaria annexed Eastern Rumelia, King Milan declared war on her, and was badly beaten after a short but sharp campaign. Russia, too, was angry at Bulgaria's action over Rumelia. She did not desire to see a powerful independent Bulgaria grow up. Suddenly news came that

Bulgaria. 1886. Prince Alexander of Bulgaria had been kidnapped and taken to Russia. He was soon released, and returned to Bulgaria, where he was madly welcomed. But almost

Ferdinand. 1887. immediately he abdicated. Six months later, Ferdinand of Coburg became Prince of Bulgaria. Russia protested, and for a while the Powers did not recognise the new prince. There had grown up a strong Nationalist party in Bulgaria, with Stambouloff as its leader. Against it

was the pro-Russian party, so that the Nationalists looked to Austria for support against Russia.

In Serbia, there was a similar division. King Milan leaned to Austria, but his queen, Natalie, favoured her own country, Russia. This quarrel was mixed with others, and finally King Milan abdicated. Serbia. 1889.

In the next decade the Sultan tried to find new supporters in France and Russia, now drawing together. He felt secure enough to indulge in horrible massacres of the Armenians, without any of the Powers doing more than protesting. Now it was in Russia and in Germany that Abdul found his protectors, as it had been earlier in Britain. Serbia was under a Regency, as Alexander I., son of Milan, was a lad in his teens. But when he was seventeen years old he announced himself of age. He leaned at first to the Liberal party in Serbia, but in a short while he turned to a despotic manner of governing, looking to Austria for support. In Bulgaria, the murder of Stambouloff, which still remains something of a mystery, was followed by a better understanding between Russia and Prince Ferdinand. South of Bulgaria, there was unrest—and of course massacre—in Macedonia. 1890–1900. Armenia. 1896–97. 1893. 1895.

But the endless flames of the Balkans burned highest at this time in the island of Crete. It had been part of the settlement at Berlin that the Moslem governor of Crete should have a Christian adviser—for the islanders were largely Greek Christians. Greek revolts, which the Sultan was suspected of deliberately provoking, led to a rule of Turkish absolutism. The Powers interfered, and a Christian governor was appointed, whereupon Moslem revolts began. When reforms were pressed by the Powers there was a massacre of Christians. About this time there were massacres of Armenians in Constantinople, following upon others in Armenia itself. The Cretan Greeks demanded union with Greece, and a Greek force was landed on the island. But the Powers interfered, and ordered Greece to withdraw her troops. French and British ships fired upon the Greek Christians to check them from attacking the Turks. In Athens, national feeling rose to war Crete. 1878. 1889. 1895. 1896. 1897.

fever, and it was increased by a message from a hundred British Members of Parliament expressing their sympathy with Greece. War was declared by Turkey. The Greeks were beaten by the new Turkish armies—lately trained under German officers. Germany now definitely appeared as Turkey's chief supporter. Her ships and those of Austria withdrew from the fleets that were blockading Crete. Prince George of Greece was made High Commissioner of the island, and a few years of peace followed.

Greek War.

1899.

1900–1914. The twentieth century began with more massacres in Armenia, with disorder and anarchy in Macedonia, with the demand of a group of Young Turks, educated in Western Europe, for Parliamentary government. Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia had asked the Powers to make Macedonia self-governing. Instead, a scheme of reform was drawn up by the three Eastern monarchs, which proved as useless as earlier schemes Serbia meanwhile had troubles of her own. The young King Alexander put aside the Constitution his father had granted. Two months later, he and Queen Draga were murdered by some officers of the army. The throne was filled by Peter I., grandson of Black George of Serbia. It was not till three years later that the new monarch was recognised by the Powers.

1899.

Serbia.

(1899.)

1903.

1906.

Crete. Venezelos. 1904. Trouble in Crete began again. Venezelos, the leader of the Cretan Christians, resisted the autocratic rule of Prince George, and raised again the cry for annexation with Greece. He had the support of the majority of the population, but the Powers still saw difficulties in the way of union. Prince George, in despair or in disgust, resigned his post. The "Question of Crete" was left unanswered.

1906.

Turkish Revolution. 1908. Now came one of the most remarkable revolutions in history. The Young Turks demanded the reforms of government which Abdul Hamid had once before pretended to make under foreign pressure. The Sultan gave way. There was to be a Turkish Parliament in November. An amazing reign of peace and brotherhood followed. Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Moslems, and Christians

(1876.)

joined in friendly meetings. A new Turkey was to arise with equal freedom for all. The Parliament met. Almost at once came news that Austria had annexed Bosnia 1908.
and Herzegovina, and that Ferdinand had proclaimed himself independent as Tsar of Bulgaria. Crete threw off Turkish allegiance. The Treaty of Berlin was in the Balkan fires. The Kaiser of Germany took his stand "in shining armour" by Austria, in reply to Russia's protest; and Russia, exhausted by her disastrous war with Japan, could not go beyond protesting. With England and France, she asked for a European conference, but Germany and Austria declined.

Suddenly Turkish soldiers at Constantinople demanded 1909.
the removal of the new Ministers. The Young Turk leaders fled, and the news of massacres in Asia Minor seemed to bring back all the old evil ways. But the Young Turks returned at the head of an army, and captured Constantinople by force. Abdul was deposed, and his brother, whom Abdul had kept in prison, was made Sultan as Mohammed V. The Young Turks began at once to strengthen the army and navy, and Constantinople was put, and kept, under martial law.

There were many who expected from these events a period of peace. But, meanwhile, Venezelos of Crete had become Prime Minister of Greece. He formed an alliance Balkan League.
with Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro against Turkey. The Balkan States saw no likelihood of the Powers ever settling the Macedonian trouble, and they determined to do the work themselves. Turkey had just passed through a war with Italy, in which Tripoli had been lost. The 1911.
time was favourable, and the Balkan League struck. 1912.
The Turks were everywhere defeated. Bulgaria won a victory at Lule Burgas, Adrianople was stormed, and the First Balkan War.
Turks, driven upon Constantinople, were forced to sign a peace that left them only a few miles of European territory. By the Treaty of London, the western 1913.
boundary of the Ottoman Empire was marked as the Enos–Midia line, between Constantinople and Adrianople.

Immediately, quarrels broke out among the Balkan Second Balkan War.

Allies, and a new war began, Greece and Serbia joining against Bulgaria. The difficulty of drawing boundaries in a land of mixed races is easy to understand; but there were suspicions that Austria was helping to increase the difficulties. In the war of a month that followed, 1913. Bulgaria was crushed. She had to sign a new treaty at Bucharest by which she lost all claim to the Turkish territory she had conquered, and had to pay an indemnity. Meanwhile, Rumania had invaded her from the north, and Turkey, profiting for the hundredth time by the quarrels of Christian states, ignored the Treaty of London and retook Adrianople.

The Balkans and the Powers. So stood the Balkans in 1914, full of suspicion and fear, no single state able to trust its neighbour, or to rely on treaties, or to have confidence in any Congress of European Powers. The story of the Balkans is the story of the selfishness, the jealousy, the littleness of the Great Powers of Europe. They have pursued their own interests through the Balkan valleys of woe; and they have not always had even sufficient foresight and intelligence to know and to follow their real interests. In the phrase of a British statesman, which has a bitterer meaning than he gave it, they often, as did Britain in the Crimea, "put their money on the wrong horse."

II. RUSSIA, 1875–1914

Compulsory Truth. It is easy for any people, especially earnest people, to use force to others, when they "know" they are in the right. All through history we can see groups of people, who have got firm hold of a piece of Truth, using it as a charter of freedom, giving them the right to limit other people's liberty in the name of Liberty. Britain was full of this spirit in the years before the Great War. The Suffragettes, the miners, the Lords, the Nationalists, the Ulstermen, the railwaymen, all waved a fragment of 1873–81. truth like a sword. So in Russia—with more excuse—in the Nihilist years. "We are right," said the Nihilists,

" to try to destroy autocracy, for it is unjust, cruel, and stupid. To destroy it by peaceful means is impossible, for we are not allowed to speak, to discuss, or to write and print our views. We can only kill autocracy by violence, and in the name of Liberty we shall use violence." So, in spite of fearful risks and horrible punishments, they assassinated the chiefs of police, and at last, after many attempts, they assassinated the Tsar. The Russian officials, on their part, argued and acted similarly. " We are right," they said, " to stamp out Nihilism, for if it succeeds it will destroy all government in Russia and leave it like a mob. If we imprison, flog, torture, and kill these men, it is because this is the only way of preserving the Holy Russia that we serve."

Nihilist Argument.

1881.

Counter Argument.

So the plots and the assassinations went on. Men were arrested in thousands, and sent to Siberia without trial. Each act of violence was the mother of other acts of violence. The reformers had moved in three steps. First, they had themselves adopted new ideas of government, of liberty, and in many cases, of religion. Next, the more energetic of them spent their lives, and often gave their lives, in preaching the new ideas among the peasants. Lastly, the more vigorous of these in turn, despairing of their slow progress, maddened by the severities of the Russian police, turned to dynamite as a quicker argument. Four attempts on the Tsar's life were made in a few years. At last it seemed as if terror had won what argument could not. The Tsar abandoned some of the severities the Government had used, and gave great powers to Melikoff, who began by issuing pardons and by preventing exile to Siberia without trial, abolishing the Third Section, the secret police that met the Nihilist plots with counter-plots. Alexander II., after some doubt and hesitation, decided on calling an Assembly of Notables, a body that would make the beginnings of a Russian Parliament. On the day that he made his decision he was murdered.

1880.

1881.

This Nihilist period was in part broken by the Turkish War, mentioned in another chapter. The years after

1877–78.

that were filled with civil war, of which more was still to come. Meanwhile, the Empire was extended in Asia, Sakhalien Island was annexed, Khiva had been occupied, Khokand was taken.

Russian Empire. 1875, 1873, 1876.

Alexander III. 1881–94.

The new Tsar, Alexander III., was more like Nicholas I. than he was like his father. He at once announced his belief in autocracy, and took as his chief adviser a narrow-minded cleric, Pobyedonosteff. The Press was closely watched, foreign books were only admitted after examination by the police, the Nihilists were secretly hunted down and secretly disposed of. Education was put into the hands of the Church. Persecutions of the Jews became frequent. The Russian language was insisted upon in Finland and in Poland. The Tsar was trying to Russianise the whole Empire. It was one of many attempts in history to create a great nation with one law, one language, one religion, regardless of the feelings and desires of the different groups.

Reaction.

1882–91.

1890–91.

But Finland was left with her own Diet, after one attempt to sweep it away. The Russian peasants were relieved by the abolition of the poll-tax, industries were encouraged. A new Minister, Witte, worked out the Tsar's idea of a complete and separate Russia by developing manufactures and railways. He began the great railway across Siberia. He made the sale of spirits (*vodka*) a State monopoly. He enclosed Russia—always a Protectionist country—in a wall of very high tariffs. To do these things, money was wanted, and Witte got it by encouraging foreign capitalists to invest their money in the new Russian industrial enterprises. The money lent came chiefly from France. But with all this growth of factories, capitalists, employers, artisans, there came also discussion, discontent, Socialist ideas.

1884.

1892.

Development. 1891–1902.

1894.

1894.

Nicholas II. (1894–1917.)

The early years of Nicholas II. did not show any sign of change. Pobyedonosteff was still the chief adviser of the Throne. The peasants were burdened by heavy taxes, imposed to pay the costs of the new enterprises. "Their chief object in life," said Professor Vinogradoff, "is to pay the taxes—everything else is

(1902.)

accident." Arrests increased, the Press was watched more closely than ever. The Finnish Diet was deprived of half its powers, its newspapers were suppressed, its army absorbed into the Russian army. Finland.

Now came Russia's disastrous venture in the Far East. When China, defeated by Japan, yielded to her conqueror Port Arthur, Russia, Germany, and France intervened, and Port Arthur was restored to China. Three years later, it was leased by China to Russia for twenty-five years. The Siberian railway was completed, running to Vladivostock and to Port Arthur. Russian armies were marched into North China, Port Arthur was strengthened. Japan, who had just signed a treaty with Britain, demanded that Russia should withdraw from Manchuria, and as Russia showed no sign of withdrawing, declared war. Japanese War. 1895. 1898. 1902. 1902. 1904.

The Russian Pacific Fleet was crippled by a sudden attack, and Port Arthur was besieged. Russian armies were defeated at the Yalu River and near Mukden. Another Russian fleet, sent from Europe, was annihilated. On its way this fleet fired upon some British fishing boats, causing great anger and excitement in Britain. The fall of Port Arthur was followed by the Treaty of Portsmouth, by which Japan obtained Port Arthur and half of Sakhalien Island. 1904. 1905. 1905. 1905.

The blunders and sufferings of the war stirred up intense feeling in Russia. Plehve was assassinated. A more moderate Minister was appointed, and a conference of the local bodies (*Zemstvos*) was called. Suddenly, the world was shocked by the news of a terrible event. A procession of unarmed working-men, marching to the Palace of the Tsar to petition for reforms, was fired upon by the troops, and hundreds were killed. The news of "Bloody Sunday" ran through Russia like a flame, and riots broke out in many places. The moderate Minister was dismissed, and a soldier, Trepoff, was given charge of St. Petersburg. Many representatives of the Government were murdered. Foreigners began to speak of the Russian Revolution, and to wonder how it would compare with that of France. Then came the Tsar's declaration Unrest. 1904. "Bloody Sunday." Jan. 1905. Riots.

that a Parliament would be called. Trepoff was dismissed and Witte recalled. The unrest continued, for the Parliament (Duma) was to be elected only by the wealthier classes, and would have no power to make laws. There were mutinies in the army and in the fleet. There was a rising in Moscow, savagely put down. There were strikes everywhere. The railways ceased to run, the

Oct. 1905. newspapers no longer appeared. The Tsar now issued

First Duma. a manifesto announcing a Duma with law-making powers. It met in the following year, and, with many stormy speeches, demanded that the Ministers should be responsible to the Duma. The Tsar dissolved it after a sitting

1906. of two months. A new Duma was to meet next year.

Repression. Stolypin was now in charge, and he began a merciless campaign of arrests. A second Duma met, and lasted

1907. for four months. A third was elected on a different

1907. franchise, and almost entirely of wealthy land-owners. A great change, introduced by the Government, was

1906–9. approved and passed by the Duma. The possession of land by the whole village, the "mir" system, was changed into separate possessions by individuals.

Finland. During the disturbances, Finland demanded that her

1905. full rights of self-government should be restored, and she was successful. Almost at once she established

1906. universal suffrage, giving votes both to men and to

1908. women. But two years later the Finnish Diet was dissolved, and after two years more Finland's powers of

1910. self-government were again reduced.

Stolypin. The Stolypin regime was ended suddenly by his

1911. assassination. He had restored order in the Empire, but at a terrible cost. He established capital punishment in a country where it had been unknown for a hundred and fifty years. Over three thousand were hanged in three years, and the hangman's rope was called "Stolypin's necktie." Yet he had, according to his views, put Russia firmly on her feet. Neither he, nor anything in Russian life, is easily understood by people of Western Europe. A hundred Russian novels have not made us able to imagine how a Russian peasant thinks.

(*b*) Northern Europe, 1848–1914

The old Swedish Parliament, which lasted until beyond the middle of the nineteenth century, was formed not of two Houses but of four. This enabled a king to keep a good deal of control in his own hands, for he could play off one or two Houses against the others. The playing off was in fact very effectively done by Charles XIV. and his successor, Oscar I. But a period of reform was begun under the monarchs. Religious freedom was established, and was at a later time extended to the Jews. Norway and Sweden. 1866. (1818–44, 1844–59.) 1858, 1873.

During the reign of Charles XV., the Parliament of Four Houses (Nobles, Clergy, Townsmen, Peasants) was transformed into a Parliament of two Houses, but the number of electors remained small. The parties that developed were the Conservatives, chiefly from the towns, and the Democratic party of the peasants. For some years there was a struggle between them over the army. The Court and Conservatives wanted an army on the Prussian model, but the peasants preferred a national militia like that of Switzerland. Neither party got all its own way, but a kind of militia was finally established. 1859–72. 1866. 1901.

Meanwhile, the movement away from Free Trade, which accompanied the Imperialist movement in Europe, affected Sweden in the 'eighties, when the country began to import corn. A protective tariff was applied to agriculture, and then to manufactures. As in most countries, the Protectionists were strong in the Upper Chamber. 1888–92.

The next decade saw the rise of a Socialist party, which for a time suffered from prosecutions, more especially of Socialist newspapers. But the attention of the Peninsula was chiefly turned to the growing quarrel between Sweden and Norway. The Swedes had always looked upon Norway as a country attached to Sweden, while having certain rights of its own. But the Norwegians considered the Union as one between equals. They finally demanded to have Consuls of their own, 1890. 1892.

which the king would not grant. There was a danger
1901. of war, and the Norwegians built forts near the frontier. The Storthing also demanded that the king should choose his Ministers from the party having a majority. Finally
1905. the Storthing declared the Union dissolved, and was supported by an almost unanimous vote of the Norwegian people. King Oscar II. was now King of Sweden only,
Haakon VII. of Norway. 1872–1907. the Norwegians choosing Prince Charles of Denmark, who became King Haakon VII. of Norway.

1909. Since the separation, Sweden has established manhood suffrage. Norway a little earlier established woman
1907. suffrage, and threw open the Storthing to women. The first woman member took her seat in 1911. Norway boasts that she is to-day what she has long been, the most democratic country in the world. She lives on the edge of the inhabited world, but in late years she has given to that world two famous writers, Ibsen and Björnson, besides Grieg the musician, and Nansen the explorer. Sweden, for her part, can claim Edison the inventor, Swedish born, but long settled in America.

1907. King Oscar II. did not long survive the separation. He was succeeded by his son, Gustaf V.

Denmark. 1848–63. The reign of Frederick VII. of Denmark began with a Liberal Government, the freeing of the Press, and a new Constitution. Disputes soon arose between king and Parliament, especially in regard to the control of taxes. These disputes, however, were forgotten in the quarrel with Prussia about the two Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The Germans living in the provinces took
1848–50. up arms against the Danes, and there were three short campaigns of civil war, in which the revolting Germans were crushed. King Frederick used his victory unwisely, dismissing all German officials in the German districts, and removing lecturers from Kiel University.

1863–1906. The Duchies were lost under his successor, Christian IX.,
1864. when Denmark was overborne by Prussia and Austria, and lost a third of her territories. Since that time, the little country has devoted herself to home affairs, and has prospered steadily. The government was altered

by the establishment of a modern Parliament, and at 1866.
about the same time, great care and attention began
to be given to agriculture. A new port was made at
Esbjerg for the growing trade with England. Railways 1868.
were built, and were used to help the farmers. A small
old age pension was established. Education was im- 1891.
proved, and manhood suffrage established. The present
king, Christian X., succeeded his father in 1912.

CHAPTER XXIV

EUROPE, 1815–1914: A REVIEW

THE changes in Europe since Waterloo have been so many and so great, that this chapter could be filled by a mere list of them. Among these changes are some that belong not only to Europe, but to civilisation, and of these we will speak first. It unfortunately happens that the story of a nation or a continent is so filled out with political changes, and the quarrels of kings, parties, and nations, that the great silent life of the masses of people, though it is always there, filling the background of the picture, is neglected. So also with science, art, the health of peoples, the beauty and fulness of life. Some little of all this we may now gather up. It is of tremendous importance, but it is difficult to tell as a story, and the story of all Europe has to be chiefly a story of nations, and not of the daily lives of men.

Silent History.

New Things.

We may best picture the change by stripping ourselves, in fancy, of the additions that the century has brought. The motor-cars, the electric trams, the electric lights, the gas-lamps, must be taken from our streets. The telegraph and telephone must disappear. We must light our fires with flint and steel, for there must be no matches. Railways and steamers must go, as well as the more modern airplanes and submarines. There were indeed a few steamships afloat in 1815, but they were very few. The photograph and the photo-pictures in books and newspapers must go also, and with them the phonograph. The doctor must do without the wonderful X-rays,

and without the means of deadening pain in operations, or of checking the growth of diseases after operations.

Science.

In the world of science there is a change far greater than can be equalled by the thousand years that went before Waterloo. New sciences grew up constantly. The history of the ancient world and of the men of forgotten ages was built up. The speed of light was measured, the tiny germs that accompany diseases were discovered. The sun was weighed and measured. The idea of the gradual growth and change of living things, that we call evolution, was made clear by Charles Darwin. Men spoke to each other through the air across a thousand miles of land and sea.

b. 1809, *d.* 1882.

Who gains?

It is often asked, when such changes as these are mentioned, whether the great mass of people have benefited very much by all these things, whether they are not, for the most part, little better off than their grandfathers, the serfs, or than the slaves of still earlier times. The answer is that they are better off. It is true that much of the vast increase of old and new things is only at the disposal of those who are wealthy enough to pay for them, but the working classes in England, in Europe, are better fed, better housed, better educated, better in health, than they were in 1815. More, and much greater than that, they have gained in liberty and independence. The millions of Europe had scarcely any voice in the affairs of their own countries in 1815. They have a share now, and a share that seems to grow constantly. Kings and nobles have lost in power, peoples have gained. The story and the history of freedom is far from being ended, but it is a story of the slow triumph of the men of field and city.

We shall get the picture wrong and false if we keep only to the idea of steady change in one direction. There are many backward swings, though the general movement be forward. The lives of thousands of British people, and especially of British children, were harder and uglier in the first half of the nineteenth century than had been those of the fifteenth century,

and there are similar comparisons for other countries. Each age is not in all ways better than the last; yet man is bettered as the ages pass.

And now let us turn to the events we have fingered over in this book, and mark the great waves of change. There is one that is the giant wave of the whole period, one that we see gathering force, arousing nations, creating wars, joining peoples here, separating them there—the feeling of nationality. We saw it, in 1830 and 1848, break upon the walls that the kings of Europe built in 1815 and sweep them away. We saw it change, as the nineteenth century neared its end, to a desire for conquest, to Imperialism. But as the period ends, the great force which drives Europe, in the terrible war of 1914, is still chiefly the force of nationalism. Through all the century other forces have made two parties that have nothing to do with nations, the Socialists and the political Catholics. But when the terrible test comes, the international forces are weak before the awakening strength of nationalism. The French and the German Socialists cried yesterday, "Proletarians of all lands, unite!" On the morrow they were facing each other, in arms. Just before the war a great French Socialist wrote: "We will not fight to defend existing countries, but we will fight to bring about Socialism." Soon after, he was devoting his fiery pen to the cause of France and against Germany. The Frenchman overcame the Socialist when the first gun sent a shudder and awoke a memory through France. In like manner, the South German Catholic marched to stamp down Catholic Louvain, to batter Catholic Rheims; and the bewildered Pope wrung his hands in the Vatican. The terrible strength of Nationality is the story of modern Europe.

Nationality.

International Parties.

Wealth and Workers.

In almost everything relating to work and wealth, the century has been one of changes so great as to be real revolution. Serfs have disappeared, and the system of villagers holding common land and tilling it in common has given place to an individual system where each man owns or rents his farm, whether large or small. Britain

and France were the first countries to make this change, and Russia was the last. But in Britain the change meant large land-owners and large farms; in France the reverse. Methods of production have improved, so that each acre cultivated bears more. But scientists have already warned us that in another twenty years, unless some new discovery is made, the world's supply of wheat, for example, will no longer increase.

As for commerce, we saw the nations, following Britain's lead, move towards Free Trade. Later, we saw them moving back to Protection, under the influence of a desire to make themselves into nations, or even empires, complete on all sides, in commerce and industry no less than in agriculture. It was part of the same strong feeling that produced at this time what we call Imperialism. The German Empire, for example, was built on a commercial agreement as a foundation, the Zollverein; and both Free Trade and Protection were used in turn for the one object of making a complete and united Empire. The Tariff Reform movement in England was the expression of similar ideas. It was also a part of the general reaction against *laissez faire*. Protection has always appealed strongly to the mass of a nation, where it can be used to protect the standard of life of the workers—this is its chief support and argument in Australia and New Zealand. Equally, it rouses opposition among workers when it is suspected of protecting the wealthy rather than the poor—this is the ground of the opposition of the British trade unions.

1840–60.

1880.

Free Trade and Protection.

We saw also, in the establishment of a system of *laissez faire*, especially in Britain, how the older idea of the State regulating trade and wages was given up, and even trade unions were made illegal. This brought its own evils, and sent men back to methods of State control and ownership —Factory Acts, Municipal trams, Municipal supplies of gas and water, vast State Post Offices, and in most European countries, State-owned railways and State banks. Many countries went very far in increasing the power and the business of the State: Germany after her fashion,

The State.

1880.

1906. and Britain after her fashion. But it has become clear that neither the simple plan of leaving everything to the State, nor the equally simple plan of leaving everything to the individual, is sufficient. What exactly the State should do and what it should not do, is not yet plain ; but it is quite plain that "All" and "Nothing" are both of them unsatisfactory answers.

Health. One of the most silent and most important changes has been over what is called Public Health. The average life of the mass of the people has been increased, and not so much by better methods of curing them when they are ill, as by preventing them from falling ill. The great change in England is dated from the chief Public Health

1875. Act. It has been brought about by increased cleanliness ; by sewers and drains ; by inspection of food, of factories, dairies, bakehouses ; by the destruction of unhealthy houses, the building of hospitals. With all this, backed by the force of Parliament and the smaller governing bodies, there has grown up an army of medical and sanitary officers, making upon disease and ill-health a kind of war, generally according to the rule that prevention is better than cure. Even at the time of the Crimean War there was a plague of cholera in England. We have little fear

1900. of such a plague to-day. Later still, in the second Boer War, there was a plague of enteric fever among our troops in South Africa. Only fifteen years later, vastly greater armies were assembled in France, but there was no very serious outbreak of plague. So quickly do our methods improve. In 1919 a Ministry of Health was formed.

In almost every European country, power was in 1815 in the hands of kings, nobles, and great land-owners. The wealthy class that sprang up from the new factories and the world-trade of railway and steamer, claimed and took

Labour. their share of power. Upon their heels came the great body of workers, the descendants of the millions of serfs of Europe, claiming and securing a voice in the control of affairs—fiercely and swiftly in France, slowly and step by step in Britain. Side by side with the growing power of votes, the workers built up great unions of their trades

—chiefly in Britain. They hoped to achieve great things for themselves through Parliaments, and when they were disappointed, national strikes broke out, and it was said that threat and force must do what persuasion had failed to effect. But democracy had so established itself that no national strike could succeed unless the democracy of the nation supported it, and that has not yet happened. Syndicalism.

Some said hastily in the time of unrest, that democratic government had failed. But the very failure of the general strikes proved how it had succeeded. Democracy gives men liberty, but it may not always give efficiency. A democracy, like an aristocracy or an autocrat, must learn its business of ruling if it is to succeed. Democracy and Liberty.

This brings us to consider education, for here is a business of education. We have seen how the schools have been a battle-ground, in nearly all countries, between the Churches and the "Liberals" of all kinds, and on the whole we see the Churches losing ground, whether for good or for ill. We may notice also, how everywhere education is made compulsory. No man is allowed the "liberty" to let his children be educated or not, as he chooses. The State creates some liberties and denies others. Here it says that citizens must take some share in the government, the work, the defence of their country. To do that properly they need to be educated, and must be educated. In such a matter, Republican France is more "tyrannous" than autocratic Russia. Education.

And now, in the summer of 1914, stood Europe, with her people at work and at play, and none (except perhaps a handful of men in Berlin and Vienna) with any real knowledge that Armageddon was at hand. The Angel of Death was heading her awful way to this earth, but few could hear the rustling of her wings. 1914.

A little earlier, a splendid ship on her first voyage across the Atlantic was sunk by an iceberg, with dreadful loss of life. An English writer pictured the building and launching of the ship, the growth and launching of the iceberg, and their two paths across the cold waters, to the fatal The *Titanic*, 1912.

moment when "The Spinner of the World said 'Now!'" So do great forces silently prepare disaster. So, but more terribly: so, but more wilfully, some men in Central Europe, in the summer days of 1914, said "Now!" and the civilisation of the world rocked and shook for years.

CHAPTER XXV

THE WORLD WAR: EUROPE, 1914–1918

In the summer of 1914 the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian Empire, was murdered at Serajevo, in Bosnia. That deed, evil in itself, was made the excuse for an evil war—the most widely spread war in history. The echo of a pistol-shot became the roar of thousands of guns. Austria accused Serbian conspirators of the deed, and began a formal enquiry. Within a month Austria presented an ultimatum to Serbia, demanding acceptance within forty-eight hours. The demands were humiliating; but Serbia accepted them, adding to one of them (B5 in the document: "to accept in Serbia representatives of Austria-Hungary in the suppression of the anti-Austrian movement") the limit "so far as is consistent with international law, criminal procedure, and good neighbourly relations." Austria considered this unsatisfactory. Russia asked that Serbia should be allowed more time to have the matter discussed. Sir Edward Grey (the British Foreign Secretary) proposed a Conference of the Powers to settle the dispute. France and Italy accepted the proposal, Germany declined it.

1914. June 28.

July 23. (Compare page 157.)

July 27.

Meanwhile, at home, the king had summoned another Conference, to settle the problem of Home Rule. Within a week it had failed, and its failure was followed by a riot in Dublin.

July 19-24.

But all eyes were now turned to Berlin, for Austria could not defy European opinion without support, and that support could only come from Germany. The Kaiser, who had gone to the North Sea early in July, did not return

1914. to Berlin until after the rejection of Serbia's reply. The
July 28. day after his return, Austria declared war on Serbia.

The Austrian and German case was that the affair was a "domestic" one, concerning Austria and Serbia only. To this, Russia said she could not allow a small Slav nation to be crushed. Britain, France, and Italy held that whatever might plunge Europe into war was Europe's business.

July 29. Russia began a partial mobilisation, and when the bombardment of Belgrade by Austria had begun, Russia ordered full mobilisation. Sir Edward Grey asked France and Germany if the neutrality of Belgium would be respected, as in 1870. France said "Yes," but Germany said that an answer would disclose her military plans —which was quite true. The German Ambassador in
(1912–14.) England, Prince Lichnowsky, had told Berlin, "in repeated dispatches," as he says, two things: that there was no desire in Britain to attack Germany, and also that under any circumstances Britain would protect the French. The Government at Berlin disbelieved, or affected to disbelieve, both these statements. In the first three days of August, Germany declared war on Russia and on France, and demanded a free passage for her troops through Belgium. It was refused: Belgium was invaded,
Aug. 4. and Britain declared war.

On Land. The first phase of the war was the march of the German armies upon Paris. The forts of Liége were crushed by heavy guns in four days. A British army which had been landed in France was overwhelmed at Mons, and a French
Aug. 23. army also at Charleroi. Both began to fall back upon Paris. At the gates of the capital, the most westerly of the German armies, under von Kluck, stood with its extreme right directly north of Paris, and about twenty
The Crisis of the Marne. miles distant. Facing it, to the east of Paris, was the British army under Sir John French. Von Kluck's and the British lines were continued, in an irregular curve that swept east and then was bent to the south. On von Kluck's right, and north-west of Paris, was a French army (the Sixth) somewhat isolated from the general line, but well placed for taking von Kluck's force "in flank."

Whether from fear of this, or from fear of a gap forming between his army and the general German line, von Kluck swung to the south-east, crossing the front of the British. Joffre and Sir John French changed their retreat to an advance. The Battle of the Marne marked the failure of the "dash for Paris." On this very river, centuries earlier, another destroying force from the East, under Attila the Hun, was checked. 1914. Sept. 4-10. [Chalons, A.D. 451.]

Driven by blow on blow from the Marne, the Germans retired to the Aisne, and there entrenched themselves. Then, on each side, there was a movement to extend the line beyond that of the enemy, to turn his flank. The long line of trenches from Switzerland to the sea was being made. If Germany could bend that line well to the west, she would gain Calais—perhaps Boulogne and Havre. That would mean control of the Straits of Dover. Had she struck for Calais first, instead of Paris, she might have taken it. The British gave battle at Ypres, held the German forces, and when winter swept over Flanders the line was made and closed—with the Channel in British and French hands. But all Belgium, save one poor strip, and a great slice of eastern France, lay behind the German lines. The rush on Paris, the thrust to Calais, both had failed. Oct.

The natural German plan was to concentrate on France with all speed, and in full force, leaving Russia, who was in all ways slow of movement, to be dealt with later. The Russians, in fact, had meanwhile invaded East Prussia and Austria. Their advance into Prussia was checked when Hindenburg defeated them at Tannenberg. But the tide of Russian invasion into Austria was not checked until strong support came from Germany. Russia. Aug. 26.

On the outbreak of war, there were ready, or almost ready, ships of these numbers, British and German respectively: Dreadnought battleships, 22 : 16; other battleships, 40 : 20; battle-cruisers, 9 : 4; armoured cruisers, 34 : 9; light cruisers of modern type, 34 : 25; destroyers, 142 : 106; submarines, 74 : 36. The whole of the British fleet, however, was not available for the On Sea.

1914. North Sea, while most of the German fleet was so available. Lord Jellicoe, at the close of the war, wrote that in the autumn of 1914—it was when the *Audacious* Dreadnought was lost off the Irish coast—there were available 22 battleships and battle-cruisers in the home waters against Germany's 20, and 42 destroyers against 88, with an inferiority in type of shells, in searchlights, and in scouting craft. Most serious of all was the fact that for three months not a single British base in the North Sea was safe against torpedo attacks, because there were not enough mines prepared. Thus the ships were kept needlessly at sea, retiring even as far as Lough Swilly. It has been pointed out also that the Navy had no general controlling body at its head, nothing corresponding to the Army General Staff.

Most of this was unknown when one summer night the British fleet, already mobilised after the summer manœuvres, slipped out to sea in silence and began that patrolling and that holding of the sea roads whose increasing effect forced Germany into the position of a besieged
Aug. 28. city. The first naval action of importance was in the Bight of Heligoland, where three German cruisers were sunk. Meanwhile, the battle-cruiser *Goeben*, with a light cruiser, the *Breslau*, after shelling Algerian ports, coaled at Messina
Aug. 10. and escaped to Constantinople. They were "purchased" by Turkey, who should have interned them, for Turkey
Sept. 22. was then a neutral. In the North Sea, three British cruisers were sunk by a submarine. The bombardment
Dec. 16. of coast towns by swift vessels was begun by the shelling of Scarborough and Hartlepool. Attacks upon merchant ships were made at this stage by raiders, of which the most famous was the *Emden*. She captured a score of ships
Nov. 10. before she was hunted down and destroyed by the *Sydney*,
Nov. 1. an Australian cruiser. In the South Pacific, a German fleet off Coronel (Chile) won an action, and sank two British cruisers. The victors, in turn, were hunted down
Dec. 8. and destroyed off the Falkland Isles. When the year ended, control of the seas was plainly won and held.

Outrages. Accompanying these events, and from the earliest of

them, there came the news of those outrages and those violations of civilised methods of warfare that startled and shocked the world. The deliberate invasion of Belgium in spite of an important treaty—"a scrap of paper"—was only the first of a terrible list. The shooting of civilians on the slightest of pretexts, the wanton destruction of buildings (Louvain was almost utterly destroyed), the looting, the enormous "fines" inflicted on towns, the use of poison-gas and flame-throwers, the dropping of bombs on open towns, the sinking of unarmed ships (the *Lusitania*, among these, left her name as a battle-cry), the forcible deportation of civilians for severe and dangerous labour under terrible conditions, the inhuman treatment of prisoners in many camps—these were the deeds that gave the world, as the war continued, a view of warfare by the "method of frightfulness" that will not soon be forgotten. Already there had been many inquiries into the ideas of war, "Kultur," government, race, conquest that had grown up in Germany and had ended in this mad and criminal attempt. The writings of Bernhardi, who had set out the main plan and hopes of this war, as early as 1911; the lectures of Treitschke, who taught passionately that "The State is Power"; "The State can suffer no higher power above itself"; and "without war there would be no State"; these, and the ideas and sayings of a hundred modern Germans, were searched and studied in all civilised lands as never before, in an attempt to understand how it was possible for one of the foremost nations of the world to recall the ages of barbarism. The result of this search was to show once more the terrible power of ideas strongly held, and once more to show, as modern Japan had done in another fashion, how greatly a nation can be swayed, developed, or distorted, for good or ill, by the forces of education, even in the lifetime of one generation.

1914.

(May 1915.)

"Frightfulness."

In the first month of the war Togoland was captured. The Germans had built a great wireless station there. A few days later, a New Zealand force took Samoa, and

Africa and the Pacific.

1914. September. the Australians seized German New Guinea and the Bismarck Islands.

September. German South-West Africa was invaded by a force under General Botha. There were some South Africans, however, who disliked the British connection, and this Oct. 28. dislike found expression in a rebellion under De Wet. In Dec. 8. forty days the rebellion was crushed. Farther north in Africa the entry of Turkey into the war found an echo in a Dec. 17. Proclamation declaring Egypt to be a British Protectorate. Dec. 24. The first Christmas of the war had for its "Santa Claus gift" the first air-raid upon Britain.

1915. The winter was marked by Zeppelin raids on London and Paris, and by the dreadful sufferings of the men in the trenches. In the year 1915 the line of the Western front was "held" by both sides, while attempts were made, also by both sides, further in the East. A discussion arose in Britain as to whether effort should be concentrated in France, or whether the war could best be won in the East.

It was only now that blockading began to play an Feb. 18. important part in the war. The blockade of Britain, almost entirely by submarine action, formally began in the February of this year. Two years later, Germany (Feb. 1, 1917.) began the "unrestricted" submarine warfare by which she hoped to achieve victory through a complete blockade. March 1. For the present, Britain replied by "Orders in Council" establishing a blockade of the German coast.

On the Western front the year opened with fierce January. attacks and counter-attacks on the Aisne, near Soissons, The French now held this part of the line, the British having moved to the northern section in the autumn of March. 1914. The British took Neuve Chapelle, in a fierce three-days battle that was very costly to both sides, April. and held Ypres against very heavy attacks. It was at this time, and to the north of Ypres, where some April 22. French forces were entrenched, that poison-gas was first used by the Germans. Meanwhile, a Turkish attempt February. on the Suez Canal was repulsed. The Germans drove the Russian forces from East Prussia, but failed in

repeated thrusts at Warsaw. An attempt of an Allied fleet to force the Dardanelles failed with loss; and a landing of British and "Anzac" troops was effected, also with heavy loss, at Gallipoli. It was now that the world was startled by the sinking of the passenger-liner *Lusitania*, with the loss of over a thousand lives. In this same month Italy entered the war. In this month also, the First Coalition Ministry was formed in England. It was becoming plain that the war was not one of armies, but of nations, and the formation of a Ministry of Munitions was only one expression of the fact. **1915.** February. April. May 7. June.

Meanwhile, Germany held fast the Western line, and thrust hard to the East. Warsaw fell to her, and Brest-Litovsk. Bulgaria joined the Central Powers, and the Serbian army was driven into Albania. Before the year closed, all Serbia was overrun by the enemy. Farther east a British force advanced up the Euphrates, won two victories, at Kut and Ctesiphon, fell back on Kut, and was there besieged. A little later came news of the withdrawal of the British force from Suvla (Dardanelles). August. October. Sept.-Nov. December.

In the North Sea, an engagement at the Dogger Bank was brought about by an attempted raid on the east coast of England by swift vessels. The Germans lost a cruiser. In the Dardanelles we lost three "third-class" battleships, and the Turks a battleship. The Italians, who with the French were blockading the Austrian Adriatic, had two cruisers "submarined" (torpedoed). On Sea. January. December. July.

The year ended gloomily for the Allied cause. The Central Powers were beginning to use more fully their advantageous "inner" position. Stalemate in the West and attacks in the East brought better chances to them than to the Allies.

The next year began badly enough, with a complete withdrawal from the Dardanelles. The advance of a Russian force from the Caucasus, which captured Erzroum, and the gathering of a new British force on the Euphrates, raised hopes that Kut would be relieved. But both British and Russian advances were **1916.** Jan. 8.

1916. checked, and General Townshend's little army at Kut
April 29. surrendered.

On the Western front, meanwhile, the daily cannonading
February. and the varying attacks were overshadowed by a furious
Verdun. German assault on Verdun. The repulse of that assault by the French was one of the great features of the war in the West. The series of battles grouped round the
Feb.-July. fortress of Verdun lasted for six months. It was the most costly of all efforts on either side to break through the line. As the assaults began to change into efforts
Somme. of despair, a British and then a French attack was
July-Nov. developed on the Somme. Later, the French struck in
December. the Verdun sector and won a brilliant victory. As the year closed, the British had thrust forward as far as
August. Peronne; and in the East they had cleared the Sinai peninsula of Turks. But Rumania, who had joined the Allies, was overrun and crushed.

April. At home, there was a wild attempt at rebellion in Dublin. It had been hoped by many Germans that a great war would be marked by the withdrawal of the
German Expectations. Colonies from the British Empire, by revolutions in Ireland, India, and South Africa. The Germans had misjudged the proportions of things. There was in fact a rising in South Africa and some trouble in Ceylon. This last was trivial, and was offset a thousandfold by India's help in the war. The South African revolt was quelled more by Boer than by British arms. The Dublin rising was perhaps the most striking of the three cases; yet for every Irishman who revolted in Dublin there were a hundred fighting under the British flag. The war did not prove the weakness of the British Empire, but the strength of the "invisible bonds" that joined it across the world.

In May, Great Britain resorted to conscription.

Battle of Jutland. May 1916. In the same month a German fleet, coming out into the North Sea was met off Jutland by the British Cruiser Squadron, which engaged against odds, while the British main fleet was coming up. There were heavy losses on both sides, and the state of the weather enabled the

German fleet to withdraw before the full strength of the British attack could develop. In the first phase of the battle, Admiral Beatty, with the Cruiser Squadron, attacked boldly, took risks, gave and suffered heavy losses. When Lord Jellicoe engaged with the British Grand Fleet, he formed into line of battle about a mile and a half more distant from the German line than Beatty's. At a later stage the Germans made an attack by destroyers and light craft, which sent off a great number of torpedoes. To meet this attack Lord Jellicoe turned away his ships, avoiding too great a risk, as he afterwards wrote, "because our fleet was the one and the only factor that was vital to the existence of the Empire, as indeed, to the Allied cause." Each side claimed victory, but the immediate result was that the German fleet retired at full speed, while the effective result was that no German fleet again put to sea until the end of the war, when the High Seas Fleet crossed the North Sea only to surrender. 1916.

The German submarines became, for fighting purposes, the German navy.

The trench war was now so fixed that the idea possessed some people that no decisive result was possible. But behind the blockade the shortage of supplies in Germany was doing its silent work.

The fighting in Italy was naturally centred at the frontiers of "unredeemed Italy": that is, there was a mountain war in the Trentino, and a "front" along the little River Isonzo, by the Gulf of Trieste. Venice lies midway between these positions, the plain to the north of Venice being crossed, from the mountains to the Adriatic, by the Piave and other rivers. Italy.

A heavy Austrian attack swept the Italians in the Trentino to the very edge of the plain. But they held, and behind them new armies were formed when the Austrian thrust was spent. General Cadorna counter-attacked, and recovered most of the lost ground. Then the Italians struck on the Isonzo front, and took Gorizia. May. June. August.

In December, Mr. Asquith resigned, and the second

1916. Second Coalition. Coalition Government was formed, with a Cabinet drawn from the Unionist, Liberal, and Labour Parties under Mr. Lloyd George.

Long before this, the war had shown itself plainly as one in which not only navies and armies were engaged, but the whole strength and labour of nations. The struggle was between two different ideas of civilisation, and to that tremendous scale it was rising. The next year showed it plainly as a World War.

1917. Feb. 1. For early in the next year, the German Government decided to wage "unrestricted submarine warfare" by openly sinking at sight all vessels in British waters.

April. This brought America into the war. President Wilson, while America was neutral, had dealt with Germany so evenly and steadily that the German Government quite mistook him and his nation. But opinion in America had steadily hardened against Germany, and the *Lusitania* outrage had made a great impression there.

Russia. March. Shortly before America's declaration of war came the Russian Revolution, which swept away the Tsar's autocracy. It was just when the British were taking Baghdad. The German plan was plainly now to hold the

September. Western front and to strike hard at disorganised Russia. Riga fell. There was a rally in Russia, and a new government was formed under Prince Lvoff, followed quickly by another under Kerensky, a moderate Socialist.

October. With the autumn came a British victory at Passchendaale Ridge, but also a serious Italian defeat, with the loss of Gorizia, and many men and guns. Meanwhile, General Allenby was beginning his rapid advance from Gaza into Palestine. The end of the year was marked by the

November. breaking of the German "Hindenburg" line by an attack with "tanks"; by the capture of Jerusalem; and finally, by the overthrow of the Kerensky govern-

November. ment in Russia. Its place was taken by a government of the "extreme left," a party soon to be known as the Bolsheviks (the word simply means "majority"), under Lenin and Trotsky.

Any brief account of such a war must give an

unsatisfactory picture. We summarise the tremendous events of a year in a few lines, but those who lived through the year remember the daily story of battles, victories, defeats, advances, withdrawals: the flush of hope, the chill of dread. Thus, in April came accounts of the Battle of Arras, where the British attacked the "Hindenburg" or "Siegfried" line in the north, while to the south the French also assailed it. The British airmen almost cleared the sky of enemy machines. The infantry fought their way through nests of machine-guns, through positions that had been skilfully planned and built during the last two years. The Canadians, in a blizzard of snow, stormed Vimy Ridge. When the week's fighting was over, we had taken 14,000 prisoners and 200 guns. Yet such a battle, in the story of the whole war, has to be taken as an incident. In a brief account, scores of such battles cannot even be mentioned.

1917.
Arras.
April 9-15.
Vimy.

The last year of the war opens with the speech of President Wilson, in which he laid down the "fourteen points" that should form the basis of a Peace settlement. The chief "points" were: No secret treaties; freedom of the seas; no economic war; disarmament; restoration of Belgium; just settlements for Alsace, Russia, colonial possessions, Italy, Austria, the Balkans, Poland; and finally, a League of Nations.

1918.
January.
The Fourteen Points.

Meanwhile, Russia was withdrawing from the war, and a peace was signed at Brest-Litovsk, a peace very favourable to Germany. Her troops in the East were now set free, and the immediate plan was to deliver tremendous blows in the West, and destory the Allied line before the Americans could bring any large trained forces to bear. For Germany, indeed, it was the very eve of that "World Power or Downfall" on which her thoughts had so long been set. On the "outskirts" the Allies were now everywhere victorious—in Palestine and in Mesopotamia noticeably. The Allied force at Salonika stood as a threat of another such advance. The German colonies were lost. The submarine attack on shipping, though it still continued, and was very

March.

1918. seriously to be reckoned with, could no longer be thought likely, by either side, to bring about a decision of war.

April. And in this spring of such expectancy, two brilliant

Zeebrugge. little raids on the Flanders coast, by light British naval forces, seemed to illustrate the position by adding one more to the blows and thrusts at the circumference of the enemy position.

The Last German Effort. But the strength of that position had always been that it was central, with the advantage of quick concentration towards any front. The concentration had now been made: the main front was in France and Flanders, where indeed it had been from the first. Here only could victory be decisive. Here Germany might retrieve all she had lost or was losing. For the spring and early summer, Germany could count on an immense superiority in numbers, chiefly owing to reinforcements of about half a million men from the Russian front. Whether it was to any extent owing also to withdrawals from the British Western front, or to insufficient British reinforcements, was hotly and unsatisfactorily debated later in the year.

The Somme Thrust, March 21 to April 30. The first German thrust was against the British line, from Arras to the Oise. The attack was made with artillery, tanks, gas, flame-throwers, and great masses of storming troops. For forty anxious days the British fell back; their line was thrust into a great half-circle with a radius of about thirty miles. We lost 100,000 prisoners and 1000 guns. The German losses were very heavy indeed, a prepayment for victory.

During those forty days, events were happening fast. General Foch took command of the whole line; Sir Douglas Haig warned his troops that we were fighting "back to the wall"; gigantic shells fell on Paris from German guns more than seventy miles away. The shells rose over a dozen miles in the air in their flight.

Aisne–Marne Thrust, May 27 to July 17. The next thrust was along the Aisne, and it carried the Germans to the Marne and across it, with great captures on the way. The Germans had thrust forward, west and south, in an advance that was almost continuous

for four months. Paris drew near. It seemed once more to be within their reach—their nearest troops were within forty miles. Yet in 1914 they had come nearer still, and had lost Paris before winning it. 1918.

So it was now; but the parallel was not so clear at the time. In the great curve of the German front the forces were organising for a thrust to the West, or South-West, or North-West. Within this arc the Germans had the same advantage of interior lines locally that throughout the war they held generally. On the other hand, Foch had not used all his reserve; there were a million Americans in France, half of them available as combatants; and the Allies were strong in artillery and in "tanks." These "land-battleships," as the French called them at first, played a great part in the war. The tanks were invented by the British, and were first used on the Somme. It was a significant event when a tank first clanked its way along the streets of Flers. July. Tanks. (Sept. 1916.)

The German "offensive" of the year was a series of five thrusts. Four of them, though at great cost, achieved successes. Now the fifth began—on the fatal Marne. In two days it was cut short by other events. German Offensive, 1918— (1) March 21, (2) April 9, (3) May 27, (4) June 9, (5) July 15.

For now General Foch was ready for his counter-strokes. The Allies, in their turn, had a superiority of men, guns, and especially, of tanks, and the last act of the terrible drama began. We picture the great line rolling irresistibly eastward, with aeroplanes whirring above, tanks waddling below, with the crackle of machine-guns, the shriek of shells, the thunder of thousands of guns. It was, in some sense, like that, but not uniformly. In one place after another there were tremendous thrusts. Between them "pockets" of isolated Germans often found themselves unable to withdraw. It was almost "open warfare" again for most of the time. Foch's Counter-strokes— July 18, Aug. 8, Aug. 21, and to Nov. 4.

The first thrust was made by French and American troops, towards Soissons. Then the British and Americans struck, farther north, on the Somme. By the end of August, the whole line for seventy miles south of Arras was in motion. The fortified "Wotan line," facing Arras. July 18 Aug. 8

1918. was pierced. The Americans " pinched out " the German
Sept. 12. salient at St. Mihiel, held since 1914. The " Siegfried "
Sept. 18. or " Hindenburg " line of defence was pierced in its turn. No trenches, however cunningly planned, no nests of machine-guns, no clusters of forts or " pill-boxes," no desperate resistance of this or that section of brave veteran troops could stay this tremendous advance. The Belgians were moving across their lost lands. The Germans were hastily withdrawing from the coast. King
Oct. 17. Albert landed in Ostend. American troops marched
Nov. 6. into a town of which they had often heard—Sedan.
[1870.] Which of them, when as boys they had read in school of the surrender of Sedan, ever pictured himself marching into that little town as a conqueror? As if it were a symbol, on that day the Germans asked for peace. And the German Fleet lay still in its harbours. There was to be no Trafalgar; Jutland, it seemed, had ended the sea-fighting of the war. Germany had collapsed.

The East. But the allies of Germany had not waited so long. The advance in the West was paralleled by an advance on the Balkan front, beginning with a Serbian thrust on the Vardar. The whole line was soon in motion, and the
Bulgarian Collapse. Sept. 29. Bulgarians everywhere retreated. Bulgaria asked for peace, and withdrew from the war as the victorious Serbs marched into their ancient capital, Uskub.

Turkey was next to realise that all was over. When General Allenby's forces defeated the Turkish army on the
September. famous Plain of Armageddon, the road to Damascus lay open. Damascus fell to the invading troops—British and
October. Arab—and then Aleppo. This last capture cut the railway that supplied the Turkish army on the Tigris, and isolated it, just at a time when it was being hemmed in by British-
Turkish Collapse. Indian forces. The Turkish army surrendered, and a few days later, Turkey asked for an armistice, and accepted
Oct. 31. what were practically terms of complete surrender.

June. On the Italian front, a great Austrian thrust was made in the summer, on the river Piave. Its success was brief, and the Italian counter-stroke drove the Austrian forces back over the river—which had meanwhile risen in flood

--inflicting heavy losses. Twenty thousand Austrians were taken prisoners. In the autumn, the Italian forces, with the British contingent which had joined them in the spring, crossed the Piave and began what proved to be the final advance against Austria. In a week the Austrian army crumbled away to disordered groups. There was a revolution in Vienna, the Emperor Karl fled, and Austria asked for, and accepted, an armistice. 1918. October. Austrian Collapse. Nov. 4.

In the first few days of that November, Austria surrendered, Canadians marched into Mons, Americans into Sedan; the Kaiser abdicated, red flags were raised in Berlin, a quiver of revolution ran through Eastern Europe, and Germany, now bankrupt in allies, friends, the esteem of men, laid down her arms at last, at the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of November, in that fateful year. The Last Days.

"Such a war had such a close."

CHAPTER XXVI

EUROPE AFTER THE WAR

Nov. 11, 1918, to May 7, 1919.

Six months went by between the signing of the armistice and the presentation to Germany of the Treaty of Peace. To the story of these six months we shall add, in this chapter, some account of the Russian Revolution, from March 1917 to the spring of 1919.

Armistice Terms.

By the terms of the armistice, Germany was to leave all invaded territories within 14 days, and her armies were to withdraw to the east of the Rhine. There were to be surrendered—2000 aeroplanes, 5000 guns, 30,000 machine-guns, 5000 locomotives, 150,000 railway waggons, 5000 motor lorries; and further, 26 battleships and cruisers, 50 destroyers. The treaties made with Russia (at Brest-Litovsk) and with Rumania (at Bucharest) were declared abandoned. The blockade of Germany was "to remain unchanged," and German merchant ships found at sea were liable to capture; but the Allies and the United States undertook to provision Germany during the armistice. The warships were surrendered ten days later.

Russia, 1917-19.

The Revolution in Russia arose from the dissatisfaction of nearly all classes. The Government was felt to be not only tyrannical and corrupt but also incapable of doing its work properly. Apart from the fearful war-losses, there was much suffering, and it might have been far less if there had been better management. Districts were left short of food, and the army was left short of munitions, because such railways and roads as Russia had (incomplete at best) were very far from being used in the best way. Strikes

arose from sheer discontent. The army losses had been frightful. When the Revolution came, the Tsar was forced to abdicate, and a Provisional Committee of the Duma, with Prince Lvoff, a "moderate Liberal," at its head, took control of the country. A declaration was issued, announcing that the new Government would stand for freedom of the Press, freedom of speech, freedom to strike, religious equality, universal suffrage. The war was to be continued, political prisoners were to be set free, an Assembly was to be elected by the whole nation to form a permanent Government.

March 1917.

Lvoff.

The Government represented a Coalition of what we should call the Conservative and Liberal Parties, the chief definite party being the Cadets, partly monarchist, inclined to moderate reform, and opposed to any sudden changes. One of the chief Russian adversaries of this Government wrote, later in the same year, that after the Revolution "Russia was governed, for about four months, like a free country." The mass of the people were represented by a kind of Labour Party of the peasants, and by two Socialist parties. The Russian Socialists had divided into two parties, the majority (Bolsheviki) and the minority (Mensheviki).

Russian Parties.

Lenin.

(1903.)

Bolsheviki.

The Mensheviki were Socialists who were content to try to secure by definite steps, without violence, and without any sudden despoiling of the wealthy classes, the usual Socialist aims: that is, the change from private to public ownership and management of the land, railways, mines, factories, ships, banking and insurance businesses. They were willing to work along with, and in coalition with, reformers belonging to other parties; and they hoped to make the changes they wished, in a series of steps. The Bolshevists, whose aims were similar, said that the Menshevist methods were useless. They were opposed to any plan of co-operating with men of other parties. They described all parties as "Capitalist" except those that were definitely Socialist. Further, they had little belief in gradual methods, and, as events proved, they were quite ready to use violence when they thought it

Menshevik and Bolshevik.

Socialism.

necessary. They wanted immediately to end the war and immediately to begin the Socialist Revolution.

Mir, Artel, Zemstvo, Soviet. [1864.]

Russians have long been accustomed to work and act in groups. For centuries they had known the rule of the *mir*, representing the village communal life. Upon the abolition of serfdom, small local councils, or *zemstvos*, were set up. Workmen also were accustomed to be engaged, not as individuals, but in working groups, called *artels*. More recently, another group-system had appeared among workers, peasants, and soldiers: small councils, or, in Russian, *soviets*. These soviets increased amazingly in the latter part of the war, and although at first few of their members took the Bolshevist view, yet at a later stage they grew more and more Bolshevist. But this was not foreseen at the beginning of the Revolution, and when the Lvoff Ministry fell, it was replaced by a "Menshevist Coalition" Government under Kerensky, who had formerly been known only as the leader of a small party in the Duma, called "The Party of Toil."

May 1917. Kerensky.

Side by side with the Duma, another power had arisen, in the shape of a rival body, called the Central Soviet in Petrograd, representative in some ways of the Soviets that had formed, and were forming, throughout the country. Four "Soviet" delegates were added to the Cabinet. The chief point of difference was now whether the war should be ended promptly, as the Bolsheviki demanded, or whether Kerensky could secure sufficient support to continue the war. The Bolsheviki called for "All power in the hands of the Soviets," and for "Peace without annexations or indemnities," though they declared that by this they did not mean to restore all the 1914 boundaries, but to fix them according to the wishes of the people.

April 1917.

A successful advance by the Russian army strengthened the Kerensky Ministry, but it increased the opposition of the Bolsheviki, and there was a rising in Petrograd. But the Russian success was short-lived. There arose also another movement against the Government, headed by Korniloff, a monarchist. Further difficulties came

July 1917. Korniloff.

through a proposal to hold a Socialist International Conference at Stockholm, open to all nations, enemy and ally. The French and British Governments did not favour this plan, but a British Cabinet Minister (Mr. Henderson) who had been sent to Petrograd to establish good relations with the Russian Government, returned as a supporter (he had been an opponent) of the idea of a Conference, and left the British Cabinet in consequence. Meanwhile, one of the chief Bolshevist leaders, Trotsky, had been imprisoned, and the other, Lenin, escaped out of Russia. On the front, the Germans had advanced as far as Riga.

The Stockholm Conference.

May-Aug.

Lenin and Trotsky.

All this while the Bolshevists had grown in strength and in numbers. Lenin returned to Russia through Germany, and another revolution was effected, which established Lenin in power and sent Kerensky, in his turn, into exile. The Bolsheviki at once began to negotiate with Germany for an armistice. They declared all land, except small peasant farms, to be confiscated for redistribution, to be held only by the actual cultivators. They handed the control of production to the Councils—this in accordance with their cry: "All power to the Soviets."

Nov. 1917. Bolshevik Government.

Such changes were not likely to be made peacefully. Resistance was met by force, and the new Government had not the power, even if it had the will, to replace violence by law. Stories of murder and outrage followed one another fast. The "Red Terror" of the French Revolution was recalled. The word "Bolshevist" became a word of evil meaning and of reproach. The Bolshevists declared that they were maligned, and later, they called attention to a "White Terror" in Finland. It was pointed out also that the Bolsheviki claimed to be democrats, yet acted autocratically. In particular, there was the affair of the Constituent Assembly. This was a general body that was to be called to decide the government of Russia. The Bolsheviki had taunted the Kerensky Government with postponing it. The date was fixed for November, and

when the Assembly met, it was instantly dissolved by the Bolsheviki on the plea that it was no longer representative of Russia.

Dec. 1917. Brest-Litovsk.

The Bolshevist and German representatives met at Brest-Litovsk to arrange terms of peace, but Germany's terms were so severe that the Russians refused to sign. Germany's reply was two-fold. On the one hand, she encouraged the formation of a separate Southern Russian

Feb. 1918.

State, the Ukraine, and with this new State she signed a treaty. On the other hand, her armies advanced. The Bolshevik Government declared that they had withdrawn from the war, but could not sign the treaty as it stood. When the German armies, however, began to capture great stores of supplies, the Bolshevists, still protesting, signed.

Terms of the Treaty. March 1918.

By the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the Russian Government was to abandon the Ukraine, South Russia, Western Russia, and Finland, and to pay £300,000,000 in gold. A German force invaded Finland, another occupied Odessa. A German garrison was placed in Moscow. It was here,

July 1918.

despite the garrison, that a German ambassador was murdered. (It was at this time that the ex-Tsar was murdered.) Disorder, murder, confusion, famine tore the unhappy country. Daily there came stories of assassinations and murders. To the Allies, as to the Central Empires, the Bolsheviki were enemies. When a request came to the Allies from North Russia for help against the Bolshevik Government, British and French

August 1918.

forces were sent to the Murman coast and to Archangel.

The Czecho-Slovaks.

In the Far East, another anti-Bolshevik force arose, in curious fashion. There were in Siberia some thousands of Czechs of Bohemia, and of Slovaks of Hungary, who had fought unwillingly, and had in fact deserted to Russian and Serbian armies in large numbers, for like the Russians and Serbs they were Slav by race. These Czecho-Slovaks heard that in France an independent Czecho-Slovak army was being formed. They wished to

Feb. 1918.

join it by way of Vladivostock. The Bolshevist Government, quite at the mercy of Germany at that time, forbade

the Czecho-Slavs to go (no doubt upon German instigation). Thus there began fighting between the Czecho-Slovaks, who grew in strength and were helped by the Allies, and the Bolshevist forces in Siberia. The Czecho-Slovak nation was formally "recognised" by Britain later in the year. The first President was Professor Masaryk. Aug. 1918.

In the Ukraine, the withdrawal of the Germans resulted in control passing to a group (chiefly officers) under General Denikin, which meant that the Bolsheviki had another foe to meet.

With the Armistice the German troubles of Russia came to an end, but her difficulties with the Allies remained unsettled. Britain decided against any attempt to make a conquest of Russia, but contented herself by supplying the forces in conflict with the Bolsheviki, and sent reinforcements to North Russia, where the British troops of occupation seemed at one time to be in some danger. The Bolshevist Government still stood, but the realities of Russia were famine and disorder. On the frontiers of Bolshevist Russia there was war, and within were civil discord, violence, suffering, and want. Nov. 1918. April 1919.

Revolutionary movements in Germany date from the time when the final result of the war was certain. The first revolutionary government was formed in Bavaria, just when in Berlin the Chancellor was resigning. This last of the Kaiser's Chancellors was Prince Max of Baden, appointed a month earlier, in the hope that his liberal and progressive views might enable the German Government to claim that it really represented the German people. Germany, 1918–19. Nov. 1918. October.

The Bavarian Republic that was set up had for its guiding spirit a Socialist writer, Kurt Eisner. Three months later he was assassinated by a German Count, and power moved, as in Russia, from the "right-wing" to the "left-wing" Socialists. In Germany these latter were not called Bolshevists (though that word rapidly came to be used outside Russia) but Spartacists, after Spartacus, a gladiator-slave who headed a formidable Feb. 1919. The Spartacists.

(B.C. 73.) revolt of slaves in Ancient Rome. At the General Election held in Germany, the Spartacists gained very

Jan. 1919. few seats, the largest party being that of the Majority Socialists (roughly corresponding to the Mensheviks of Russia or to the Labour Party in England; but the comparison is only a rough one.) The next groups in size were those of the Centre (Catholic) and the Democrats

Jan. 1919. (Liberal-Radical). The Spartacist leader, Karl Liebknecht, was killed or murdered in the rioting and street fighting that the peace had brought to Berlin.

Austria, 1918–19. In Austria also revolution preceded the Armistice by a few days. National Councils for Austria and for Hungary were formed, and "reforming" or "Moderate" Socialists found themselves in power, and faced with the opposition of a "left wing" just as in Russia and Germany. The victory of the opposition was marked in

March 1919. Hungary by the fall of Count Karolyi, who occupied a position very similar to that of Prince Lvoff after the Russian Revolution, and for as brief a time. A "Bol-

(See Map on page 47.) shevik" or "Spartacist" rule under Bela Kun began, and at once found itself at variance with Rumania. There was a frontier to be drawn. In August Bela Kun's dictatorship was at an end, and Rumanian troops were in Pest.

The Balkans, 1918–19. In Bulgaria, King Boris (the son of Ferdinand, who had abdicated) followed his father into retirement after a reign of a few days, and a Peasant Republic was set

Nov. 1918. up. Montenegro declared for union with Serbia, a few weeks later. For the rest of the Balkan peoples, their hopes or fears rested with the Conference of Versailles.

Britain. When the war broke out, unemployment was already increasing in this country. By the next spring it had practically disappeared, although there was some distress in the winter. Strikes and trade disputes disappeared for

Strikes, Wages, Prices. a time. But as prices rose, wages had to be adjusted, and as there was no fixed method of making the adjustment, there were fresh strikes. The purchasing value of the sovereign (of July 1914) fell fast. On November 1, for each successive year of the war, it was calculated as:

1914, 17s. 8d.; 1915, 14s.; 1916, 11s.; 1917, 9s. 8d.; 1918, 8s. 9d. The general national spirit was good through the whole period of the war. It was shown in the way that thousands of women took up unaccustomed work, in such acts as the offer of the miners to refrain from asking for higher wages if the price of coal were not raised—though nothing came of this. It was shown also, in another way, through the general anger at those who profited unduly through the war—the "profiteers," as they were called.

The powers of the Government of necessity increased enormously. A new code of law was built up, largely under the Defence of the Realm Act. When there appeared a real danger of scarcity (especially in food), a system of Control and of Rationing was established. It was often irksome, always imperfect; but it restored confidence and dealt out rough justice. Railways were taken over, shipping was more or less controlled, and everywhere the State set bounds to the liberties usually allowed in times of peace.

"Dora."

Control.

Mr. Asquith's Ministry was formed into a Coalition Ministry in the second year of the war (May 1915), and at the end of the third year, Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister at the head of a new Coalition Ministry (Dec. 1916) which went to the polls two years later still (Dec. 1918) and was returned to power with an enormous majority. The seats secured by the Coalition were 484 as against 222. The Coalition Parties were: Unionist-Conservative, 338; Liberal, 136; National Democrats, 10. The other parties were: Sinn Fein (Irish) 73; Labour, 59; "Asquithian" Liberals, 26; Unionists not definitely Coalitionists, 48; Irish Nationalists, 7; Independent, 9.

Change of Government.

Election of 1918.

Two of these groups represent new movements. The Labour Party was headed by Mr. Henderson, who had left the Cabinet over the Stockholm affair. It formed the strongest Labour group ever known in the House, and there were signs that it would grow stronger still.

"Labour."

"Sinn Fein" (pronounced "Shin Fane") means "We ourselves." It expressed the views of Irishmen

"Sinn Fein."

who would no longer, like the old Nationalists, look to the English Parliament for reforms in Ireland. The Sinn Fein members refused to take their seats, and set
Jan. 1919. up, instead, a "Provisional Irish Government" (Dail Eireann). Here and there, in the spring, there were outrages and some murders. There was a strike and a military occupation in Limerick, which ended quietly. Ireland seemed withdrawn, more than ever, into a life of her own.

The Fourth Reform Act, 1918. [1st, 1832, 2nd, 1867, 3rd, 1884, 4th, 1918.]

During the war there were two important Acts passed that are likely to influence the history of the country for many years to come. One was the Representation of the People Act, the Fourth English Reform Act. It gave votes to men of 21 years and to women of 30 years of age, increasing the electorate enormously, and thus answered very decisively the demand for Woman Suffrage, so long and so hotly debated. Elections were to take place on one day. The number of members was increased from 670 to 707. In the election of Dec. 14, 1918, the Act was put into operation for the first time.

Education Act, 1918.

The other great change was the Education Act, which abolished "half-time," made education compulsory to the age of 14 (an Education Authority could raise this to 15); abolished child-labour under the age of 12, and limited it between the ages of 12 and 14; made provision for day continuation schools; and offered on behalf of the State to pay half the money spent by any Local Authority for educational purposes. Altogether the Act was the most decided step in general education ever attempted in English history. The results of the Act lie in the years before us.

Peace Conference, Jan. 1919.

As the representatives of the Powers assembled in Paris, how many observers, over the civilised world, must have looked back, some to 1871, some to 1815! In 1871 a triumphant Germany dictated terms to a
In 1871. beaten France. Now, in 1919, no German representatives were yet in Paris or Versailles. They were summoned, four months later, to receive the terms prepared by the victorious Allies.

The contrast with the Congress of Vienna in 1815 did not leap quite so quickly to the eye, but it was deeper. Where now were the Eastern monarchs—Russia, Austria, Prussia: Tsar, Emperor, King? Of the four chief representatives, Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, Baron Sonnino, three were plain civilians. Power had moved to the West. The centre of gravity of Europe, and of the civilised world, was near the Atlantic coast, and very far from the Danube or the Neva. The Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs, the Hohenzollerns, had followed into oblivion the French Bourbons whom they had restored. No throne, no dynasty, could now be set on any foundation but that of a people's will. Kings by the grace of God had become absurd and impossible. In 1815.

The terms of Peace were presented to the German representatives in the Trianon Palace of Versailles. Count Rantzau, receiving them, protested against the continuance of the blockade for six months after the Armistice, causing, he said, "hundreds of thousands of non-combatants to perish." Germany was allowed fifteen days for her reply. Terms of Peace, May 7, 1919.

The draft of the Treaty was in 15 sections, given here in a brief summary:

I. A League of Nations, with a Council of representatives of the Five Allied Powers (The United States, The British Empire, France, Italy, Japan), with four other members. Other nations (Germany for example) could be admitted by a vote of two-thirds of the Assembly. League of Nations.

II. Germany to abandon territory south of Danzig, and to restore Alsace-Lorraine. Boundaries.

III. The district of Malmedy to be given to Belgium; Luxemburg to be freed from German control; the coal of the Saar Valley to be ceded, in reparation, to France. The Saar Valley to be ruled by a mixed Commission for 15 years, after which its inhabitants would decide upon union with France or Germany. Czecho-Slovakia to be recognised; territory to be yielded to the new Poland; Memel to be surrendered; Danzig to be a Free City; Territory.

the Denmark frontier to be re-drawn ; Heligoland fortifications to be destroyed by the Germans.

Colonies. IV. Germany to renounce all her overseas possessions, and to cede Kiao-Chau to Japan.

Armed Strength. V. Military conscription in Germany to be abolished. German army not to exceed 100,000. The government arsenals to be closed. No fortifications to be kept or made for 50 kilometres east of the Rhine. The German navy to contain not more than six battleships (other vessels in proportion), no submarines. No fortifications on the Baltic. No air force.

Prisoners. VI. German prisoners of war to be returned without delay.

The Ex-Kaiser. VII. The ex-Kaiser, and those accused of outrages, to be put on trial.

Reparation. VIII. Germany to repay Belgium's war debts ; to pay £1,000,000,000 within two years (by May 1921), £2,000,000,000 by 1926, £2,000,000,000 after 1926 ; the money to cover damages to civilians, to prisoners, to civilian property, and to be used as reparation for forced labour, levies, and Allied pensions and separation allowances. All large German merchant ships, and from one-half to one-quarter of smaller ships, to be surrendered. Germany to restore devastated areas, to deliver coal and chemicals to France for ten years, to surrender certain sea-cables, to restore art-treasures taken from Belgium.

Finance. IX. Alsace-Lorraine and Poland to be free from all share in Germany's pre-war debt.

Tariffs. X. No tariff discrimination by Germany against the Allied Powers for five years.

Aircraft. XI. Allied aircraft to have rights of passing over and landing in German territory.

Traffic. XII. Free goods-transit through Germany to be allowed to the Allies. The rivers Elbe, Oder, Niemen, and Danube, to be internationalised for the greater part of their navigable length. Rhine–Danube and Rhine–Meuse canals to be constructed as decided upon. The Kiel Canal to be open on equal terms to all nations.

XIII. An International Conference to be held annually to propose labour reforms. Labour not to be treated as a commodity. An eight-hours day to be established. Child labour to be abolished. Equal labour-payments for men and women. Labour.

XIV. Germany, west of the Rhine, to be occupied by Allied troops for 15 years, as guarantee for the fulfilment of the Treaty. Guarantees.

XV. Allies to have power to reconsider the decisions of German Prize Courts. Germany to accept all decisions of Allied Prize Courts. Miscellaneous.

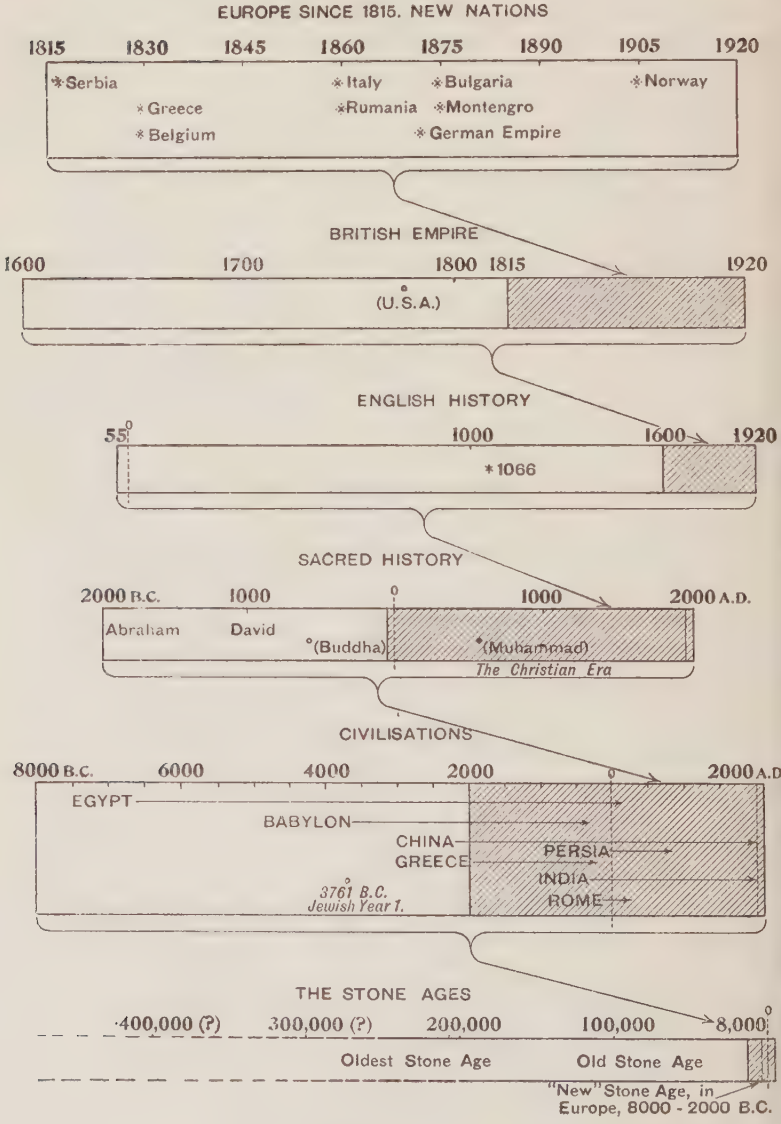
In accordance with the terms of the Armistice, the German fleet had surrendered and had been interned at Scapa Flow (Orkney Islands). When it became certain that the German Government would sign the Peace Treaty, the fleet was scuttled by the German crews on board. A few days later the Treaty was formally signed. Nov. 21, 1918. June 21, 1919. June 29, 1919.

We have moved from Waterloo to Waterloo, from one Map-Making of Europe to another. The unwisdom of the Map-Makers of 1815 has become plain to us. The wisdom or unwisdom of those of 1919 is yet untested. The world learns slowly that force at long last fails: slowly, but it learns. Intolerance retreats unwillingly, returns often: but still retreats. In the Future there is always Hope.

Diagram VI

THE LAST CENTURY IN EUROPE, IN RELATION TO THE HISTORY OF MANKIND.

(The shaded part represents the whole period of the chart just above.)



APPENDIX

I. QUESTIONS ON THE CHAPTERS
II. EUROPEAN RULERS SINCE 1815
III. HISTORICAL FICTION (JUVENILE)

I. QUESTIONS ON THE CHAPTERS

A Note on the Questions

The questions that might be set in a book like this are roughly of two kinds. The one would be questions that could be answered rather directly from the book, such as these:

1. Describe the course of events in Britain during the years 1832 to 1835.
2. What were the chief divisions of Italy in 1815?
3. When did the following events happen . . .?
4. Give a short account of Metternich, Alexander I., Ferdinand VII.

Such questions have their use in testing knowledge of facts. Most students could make them for themselves—though as a matter of fact they seldom do so.

The other sort of question, such as most of those given here, cannot be answered directly from the chapters. There is no neat "correct" answer to most of the questions that follow; none that is at all like an answer to a question of arithmetic or algebra. The student is to do his own thinking, with whatever help he can get, and to write a little essay. He will find many of the questions "hard"; but he will have at least this comfort, every one else will find them "hard." The "correct answer" to many of them is quite unknown. Historians have often thought they knew the "correct answer" to questions of this nature, and in many cases it has become clear at a later time that their answers were quite wrong.

On Chapter I

1. How does the year 1914–15 resemble the year 1814–15; and how does it contrast? (Or compare 1815–16 with 1918–19.)

2. What examples from history seem to suggest that great men make great times? Do the same examples, or different ones, suggest that great times bring forth great men?

On Chapter II

1. The following figures for 1816 will have little meaning except where they are compared with those of to-day. Copy the list with an extra column where you can set down the corresponding figures for the present or some recent year, from whatever source you can get at—year-books, almanacks, newspapers, books.

	In 1816.
Population of England and Wales	11 Millions
,, Scotland	2 ,,
,, Ireland	5 ,,
,, London and Suburbs	1 Million
,, Lancashire	1 ,,
,, Oxfordshire	120,000
Price of wheat per quarter. (Winter of 1816.) (Though wheat stood over 80s. per quarter for six months in 1816, no imports were permitted, because of the wording of the Act, which prevented importation until the Baltic was frozen.)	£5
Wheat imported	½ Million Quarters
Price of Quartern Loaf	1s.
(1 quarter wheat makes about 80 quartern loaves.)	
Wages (Year 1900 = 100)	66
	£ Millions
National Debt (Great Britain and Ireland)	730
National Wealth	2400
Yearly cost of Debt	30
Cost of the War	832
(These last items can be worked out *per head*.)	
Proportion of direct taxes	22 per cent
Population of Prussia	10½ Millions
,, Spain	11 ,,

2. What reasons are there for thinking that the Industrial Revolution was (1) a less, or (2) a greater force in the history of Europe than the French Revolution?

On Chapter III

1. Compare the position of George V. of Great Britain in 1919 with that of any one of the monarchs of the Holy Alliance in 1815.

2. Describe the map of Europe which might have been made if the work had been put into the hands of men chosen to represent the nationalities of Europe. Your map can be

only guess-work ; but taking it as fixed, what forces—or what persons—would at once have set to work to unmake it ?

On Chapter IV

1. What makes some people " more royalist than the king," and why should a king be less extreme in his royalism than some of his followers ?

2. What differences between France, Spain, Portugal, and Switzerland at this time are to be explained by (1) the geography, (2) the past history of the different countries ?

On Chapter V

1. What reasons could be given for the fact that a movement towards freer trade was begun in 1820 by what was really a Protectionist Government ? Some of these reasons spring directly from events mentioned in Chapters I. to V.

2. In this period there is a movement towards freedom in trade, and against " freedom of contract " between men and employers. The Free Trade Party was in favour of freedom in both cases. If a man to-day declares himself for Free Trade and against Free Labour, show how he can or cannot be justified.

On Chapter VI

1. Sketch a map of Central Europe according to races, and describe the difficulties that would have had to be faced at any time between 1815 and 1830, if an attempt had been made to make division into countries according to race.

2. Set out in simple outline, the hopes, fears, and interests of Britain, France, Austria, Russia in connection with the Balkan Peninsula (1820).

On Chapter VII

1. In Britain in 1688, in France in 1830, revolutions occurred which had been preceded by (1) an executed king, (2) a military dictatorship, (3) a restored monarch who does not " wish to go on his travels again." Fill out the parallel, and show whether the main causes of the two revolutions were similar or not.

2. What arguments might be used (1) for and (2) against setting up Belgium as an independent and *neutral* country, having regard for the interests or ambitions of France, Prussia, Britain ?

On Chapter VIII

1. What differences and what resemblances are there between a Trade Union and other unions such as (*a*) a political party, (*b*) a cricket team, (*c*) a trading company, (*d*) a co-operative society, (*e*) a federation of employers ?

2. If a British Parliament in the next few years were to pass another Reform Act, what changes would be probably made ? What are the reasons for thinking that any of these possible changes should or should not have been made in 1832, taking into account the state of Britain then and now ?

On Chapter IX

1. What would be likely to be the chief complaint, at this time (1828–1837) of (1) a Pole under Russian rule, (2) an Italian under Papal rule, (3) an Italian under Austrian rule, (4) an Irishman under English rule ? What differences appear ?

2. Which of the Powers desired, about 1830, that Turkey should continue in her position ; which desired that the Turks should be expelled from Europe ; and what were their reasons ? What new arrangement about the Bosphorus and Dardanelles would have satisfied Britain, France, Austria ?

On Chapter X

1. Judging by what modern European States now do or have done, what steps might Louis Philippe's Government have taken to alleviate distress, diminish labour discontent, remove causes of unrest ?

2. The Catholic Party of Belgium has continued much longer as a distinct powerful party than the Catholic Party of the Swiss Sonderbund. Is there anything in the geography or history of the two countries that might explain the difference ?

On Chapter XI

1. The arguments for and against Free Trade have recently been revived in the Tariff Reform controversy. They can be found in pamphlets, year-books, etc. Select what appear to be the two chief arguments on each side, and then attempt to " value " them ; that is, to mark which arguments are bigger in their effects, stand for greater changes, affect millions instead of thousands, in pounds or people or both.

2. If self-government had not been granted to Canada, and

if she had joined herself to the United States, in what way would Britain have felt the change as a loss, at any time since about 1840 ?

On Chapter XII

1. What other examples in history are there of a case like that of the Magyars, claiming independence while withholding it from a race subject to themselves ?

2. Norway and Switzerland, both small States, are democratic. Early Rome was more democratic than the later Roman Empire. The United States, a large country, is democratic. Is there any connection to be traced between small countries and democracy ; and if so, how is such a case as that of the United States to be explained ?

On Chapter XIII (1815–1848)

1. It is almost impossible to say what Nationality is, but it clears the mind to make an attempt. Consider race, language, religion, long-established common life, government, custom, intercourse ; and of these elements try to make out a sketch of Nationality.

2. Imagine a British, French, or Prussian soldier who fought at Waterloo, a young man of twenty, and who returned home thinking of the great peace and what it would bring to Europe. In 1848 he is fifty-three years old. He looks back and reflects. Set down his reflections, his satisfaction, his disappointments.

3. Describe the points of similarity and of difference between the revolutions of 1830 and of 1848.

4. What does the history of Europe in 1815–1848 suggest as to the value or folly of revolutions ?

5. What connection was there in this period, between the freeing of the serfs, the rise of the middle class, the *laissez faire* doctrine, and the development of socialism ?

6. Upon what grounds did Free Traders in 1848 prophesy general Free Trade ? Where were they wrong ?

On Chapter XIV

1. What are the arguments against setting up a Commune in such a town as Paris—making Paris a separate self-governing unit ? Do these arguments tell for or against (1) a national French-speaking France, (2) a French Empire ?

2. Arrange the acts of Louis Napoleon in two groups—

(1) democratic and liberal, (2) autocratic and anti-liberal. Explain whether the contradiction of the two groups is real or not.

On Chapter XV

1. Separate out the work done by Italy in freeing herself from that done by outside help.

2. What reasons are there for thinking that national heroes of the type of Garibaldi will or will not continue to appear?

On Chapter XVI

1. Contrast the means by which Italy was united with those by which the German Empire was made.

2. What good reasons can be given for or against the idea of British interference against Prussia in the Danish, Austrian, and French wars?

On Chapter XVII

1. Lord Salisbury said that in the Crimean War "we put our money on the wrong horse." Why did we do it? What might have resulted had we done the opposite?

2. What effect had the doctrine of *laissez faire* upon the growth of Trade Unions, and upon the form they have taken?

On Chapter XVIII

1. Is the method of the Referendum a substitute for representative government, or opposed to it, or additional?

2. Why did Socialism develop more rapidly in Germany than (1) in Britain, (2) in Spain?

3. Russia, in the mid-nineteenth century, was described as a despotism tempered with dynamite. Was the dynamite effective? What would have been more effective?

On Chapter XIX (1848–1874)

1. "The English reformers," says a French historian, "accomplished by manifestation less in half a century than a handful of French republicans, by using force, accomplished in a single day." What answer can you make to this?

2. How many European countries contain only a single national group? Name them. Does their history since 1815 bear any mark of this fact?

3. What exactly is a Patriot, and what is a Jingo? Quote

the best definitions or descriptions (prose or verse) of the nobler kind of patriotism that you know or can find.

4. The Powers, in dealing with Turkey and the Balkans, all acted rather (or very) selfishly, each seeking to secure its own interests. To what extent is their action justified by the gains it has brought?

On Chapter XX

1. What cases of the influence of British Parliamentary example can you trace between 1848 and 1874?

2. How does the period 1848–1874 contrast with the period 1815–1848?

3. If an Englishman who died in 1816 could have returned to Europe in 1874, what would have struck him most?

4. What is to be said for and against British policy in connection with Turkey for about fifty years before the Crimean War?

5. Is there any difference between the love of a Swiss or a Norwegian for his little country, and the love of a Briton for the British Empire?

6. What difficulties are there in the way of Imperial Federation?

7. Why was there a "social reform" period after 1906? Compare an imaginary speech (1) against it as if made by an Early-Victorian Liberal come to life, (2) in its favour, as if made by a follower of Robert Owen.

On Chapter XXI

1. How was France strengthened by her new Empire?

2. Why was it in France that Syndicalism arose?

On Chapter XXII

1. Does the recent history of Europe give us any help in deciding what the State should do, and what it should not do? Consider religion, trade, art, commerce, education, wages, the Press.

2. The Austrian throne tottered in 1848. It still stood in 1914, and fell in 1918. What forces can you reckon up (1) supporting it, (2) shaking it?

On Chapter XXIII

1. What good and what harm was done by the Treaty of Berlin (1878)?

2. How is the rise of Greece like the rise of Italy? How is it unlike?

3. Is there any reason in race, geography, or history, why the Norwegians should be more democratic than (1) the Swedes, (2) the British?

4. Norway, in the days of the Vikings, was a great power in Northern Europe. To-day, she is a very independent and democratic country. Sweden once held territories now governed by Russia or by Germany. In 1914 she had still some fears of a Russian advance across her frontier. Denmark in the days of Cnut, ruled the northern sea-lands—including England. To-day, she is busy cultivating her land, and with great success. What have these facts to do with the attitude of these countries during the European War? What other events, since 1815, affected that attitude?

On Chapter XXIV (1815–1914)

1. In 1815, the sailing ship on sea and the horse on land stood for the quickest communication available. The steamer, the locomotive, the motor car, the aeroplane represent a great increase in speed. To these add the telegraph, telephone, and "wireless." How have these increases of more speed affected (1) the growth and government of large nations or Empires, (2) the size of towns, (3) commerce?

2. What things were the governments of the European countries able to do reasonably well in 1815? What additional things were they fit for in 1914? What tasks were better left to individual effort (*a*) in 1815, (*b*) in 1914, (*c*) in the whole future of nations as far as we can see it?

3. What events, beliefs, feelings, mark the history of the century, which had their effect in making for the war of 1914?

4. Describe the possible state of Britain, if she had been governed since 1815 in any one of these ways:

(*a*) By an autocrat of average intelligence and of average kindliness.

(*b*) By a Parliament that passed no new laws, but had occasionally repealed old ones.

(*c*) By a succession of governments that constantly took more upon themselves and constantly left less to individual effort.

5. What are the arguments for (or against) the State paying (*a*) part, (*b*) all, or (*c*) none of the cost of education ?

6. Put together the wars of the last century. What can be reckoned of the gains and of the losses they brought, to separate nations, to Europe, and to the general feeling and spirit of human beings ?

On Chapter XXV

1. Suppose a German to put forward this argument : " The lower and feebler kinds of plants and animals should disappear and make room for the higher and stronger. So with men, races, nations. To be strong is real freedom. The method of establishing and extending the power to work of a superior nation is war. The Great Race proves its superiority by its conquests. To do this, it must at times be merciless. It is guided by its government, and this is a true State. There is no law above or outside of the State. . . . By this method, the ' survival of the fittest,' progress is secured."

What is your answer ?

2. What individuals, what groups, what peoples, would or might lose if a " League of Nations " were firmly established ?

3. If the nation and the coal-miners (or a similar group) could make an agreement that there should never again be a " coal strike," what would be fair conditions on both sides ?

4. If Parliaments disappear, what can we imagine as taking their place ?

5. Which of the men mentioned in this book would you like best

(*a*) to live with ;
(*b*) to be ruler of your country ;
(*c*) to talk with ;
(*d*) to teach you ;
(*e*) to avoid ?

If you do not make the same choice for (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*), why not ?

6. The plan of the Frontispiece (Diagram I.) is bad in one respect : there is little space allowed for the most recent years. Re-draft it on a plan which avoids this mistake. Note then, whether you have preserved or lost the idea of some one standing at the centre of the arc, looking back towards 1815 ; or whether you have replaced it by something as good or better.

II. EUROPEAN RULERS SINCE 1815

Austria-Hungary

Francis I. (1806–1835).
Ferdinand I. (1835–1848).
Francis Joseph (1848–1916).
Karl (Charles) (1916–1918).

[Karl abdicated, Nov. 13, 1918. An independent Republic of Hungary was proclaimed, under Count Karolyi, the same month. There followed a "Socialist Dictatorship," under Bela Kun, until August 1919.]

Belgium

Leopold I. (1831–1865).
Leopold II. (1865–1909).
Albert (1909–).

Bulgaria

Alexander, Prince (1878–1886).
Ferdinand, Prince (1887–1911).
Ferdinand, King (1911–1918).
Boris (Oct.–Nov. 1918).
[Republic, Nov. 17, 1918. President, Stambulinsky.]

Denmark

Frederick VI. (1808–1839).
Christian VIII. (1839–1848).
Frederick VII. (1848–1863).
Christian IX. (1863–1906).
Frederick VIII. (1906–1912).
Christian X. (1912–).

France

Louis XVIII. (1814–1824).
Charles X. (1824–1830).
Louis Philippe (1830–1848).
[Revolution, 2nd Republic.]
Louis Napoleon, President, (1848–1852).
Napoleon III., Emperor, (1852–1870).
[Revolution, 3rd Republic.]
Government of National Defence (1870–1871).

French Presidents since 1870 (3rd Republic).
Thiers, 1871.
Macmahon, 1873.
Grévy, 1879.
Carnot, 1887.
Périer, 1894.
Faure, 1895.
Loubet, 1899.
Fallières, 1906.
Poincaré, 1913.

GERMANY (See also under PRUSSIA)

The German Empire.

William I. (1871–1888)
(King of Prussia, 1861–1888).
Frederick III. (1888)
(Accession, March 1888;
Death, June 1888).
William II. (1888–1918).

Revolutions, Nov. 1918.

Resignation of the Chancellor, Prince Max, Nov. 8.
Resignation of the Kaiser, Nov. 9.
Bavarian Republic, Nov. 7.
Revolution in Berlin, Nov. 9.
[Provisional Government, Herr Ebert, Nov. 13, 1918.]

GREAT BRITAIN

George III. (1760–1820).
George IV. (1820–1830).
William IV. (1830–1837).
Victoria (1837–1901).
Edward VII. (1901–1910).
George V. (1910–).

GREECE

Otto I. (1833–1862).
George I. (1863–1913).
Constantine (1913–1917).
Alexander (1917–).
[Under pressure from the Allied Powers, Constantine abdicated in June 1917, and was replaced by Alexander.]

ITALY

Victor Emmanuel II. (1849–1861–1878).
Humbert (1878–1900).
Victor Emmanuel III. (1900–).

MONTENEGRO

Nicholas I. (1860–1918).
[Nicholas was deposed, and a Union with Serbia was proclaimed Nov. 29, 1918.]

NETHERLANDS

William I. (1815–1840).
William II. (1840–1849).
William III. (1849–1890).
Wilhelmina (1890–).

NORWAY

Haakon VII. (1905–).

POPES

Pius VII. (1800–1823).
Leo XII. (1823–1829).
Pius VIII. (1829–1830).
Gregory XVI. (1831–1846).
Pius IX. (1846–1878).
Leo XIII. (1878–1903).
Pius X. (1903–1914).
Benedict XV. (1914–).

PORTUGAL

Maria I. (1777–1816).
John (1816–1826).
Maria II. (1826–1853).
Peter V. (1853–1861).
Luis I. (1861–1889).
Dom Carlos (1889–1908).
Manoel II. (1908–1910).
[Revolution.]

Presidents: Braga, Arriaga (1911).
Machado (1915).
Paes (1917. Assassinated, Dec. 1918).
Almeida (1919).

Prussia

Frederick William III. (1797–1840).
Frederick William IV. (1840–1861).
William I. (1861–1888).
Frederick III. (1888).
William II. (1888–1918).
[Revolution.]

Rumania

Carol I. (1881–1914).
Ferdinand I. (1914–).

Russia

Alexander I. (1801–1825).
Nicholas I. (1825–1855).
Alexander II. (1855–1881).
Alexander III. (1881–1894).
Nicholas II. (1894–1917).
[Revolution.]

[Republican Government under Prince Lvoff (March 1917), Kerensky (July 1917), Lenin (Nov. 1917). Nicholas II. abdicated March 1917; was murdered in July 1918.]

Serbia

Milan (1882–1889).
Alexander (1889–1903).
Peter (1903–).

Spain

Ferdinand VII. (1808–1813–1833).
Isabella II. (1833–1868).
[Revolution, 1868–1870.]
Amadeo of Savoy (1870–1873).
[Republic, 1873–1874.]
Alfonso XII. (1874–1885).
Maria (1885–1886).
Alfonso XIII. (1886–).

Sweden

Charles XIII. (1809–1818).
Charles XIV. (1818–1844).
Oscar I. (1844–1859).
Charles XV. (1859–1872).
Oscar II. (1872–1907).
Gustavus V. (1907–).

Turkey

Mahmoud II. (1808–1839).
Abdul I. (1839–1861).
Abdul Aziz (1861–1876).
Murad (1876).
Abdul Hamid II. (1876–1909).
Mehemed V. (1909–1918).
Mehemed VI. (1918).
Wahid Ed-din (1918, July).

New States Forming, 1917–1919

Leaders:

Poland (Paderewski).
Czecho-Slovakia (Masaryk).
Hungarian Republic (Karolyi).
Ukrainian Republic.
Southern Slavs.
Finland.

III. HISTORICAL FICTION (JUVENILE)

1815–1918

HISTORICAL novels are not always accurate, but they are not often very misleading. Their chief value is in giving a picture of the time, which is usually far more vivid, and in some ways even more valuable, than any impression left by a history book.

The volumes given below are intended for younger folk. The book of data which is to be issued as a companion to this work will give a list of works of fiction written for adults.

PERIOD 1815–1828 (Chapters I.-VI.).

The Knights of Liberty. Subject: Plots against Louis XVIII. E. F. POLLARD. (Nelson, 5s.)

In Greek Waters. Subject: The Greek War of Independence. G. A. HENTY. (Blackie, 3s. 6d.)

Michael Strogoff. Subject: Russia and Siberia in the early nineteenth century. JULES VERNE.

The Last of the Peshwas. Subject: The Mahratta War of 1817–1818. M. MACMILLAN. (Blackie, 2s. 6d.)

Taken from the Enemy. Subject: A Plot to Rescue Napoleon. H. NEWBOLT.

PERIOD 1828–1837 (Chapters VII., VIII., IX.).

Captain Swing. Subject: Rioting and Rick-Burning in Southern England. H. AVERY. (Nelson, 5s.)

With the British Legion. Subject: The Carlist War in Spain. G. A. HENTY. (Blackie, 6s.)

The British Legion. Subject: The Carlist War in Spain. H. HAYENS.

The Schoolboy Outlaws. Subject: Criminal Laws in 1837. H. ERLINGTON. (Simpkin, 2s. 6d.)

Under the Mendips. Subject: Bristol Reform Riots of 1831. E. MATSHALL. (Seeley, 5s.)

PERIOD 1837–1848 (Chapters X.-XIII.).

Through the Sikh War. Subject: as in the title. G. A. HENTY. (Blackie, 6s.)

A Man of the People. Subject: France in 1848. ERCKMANN-CHATRIAN.

Castle Daly. Subject: Irish Life, 1845–48 (The Famine). A. M. KERRY. (Macmillan, 3s. 6d.)

PERIOD 1848–1874 (Chapters XIV.-XIX.).

Jack Archer. Subject: The Crimean War. G. A. HENTY. (Low, 2s. 6d.)

Gallant Grenadier. Subject: The Crimean War. Capt. F. S. BRERETON. (Blackie, 3s. 6d.)

A Man of the People. Subject: Paris Revolution of 1848. ERCKMANN-CHATRIAN.

The Castle of White Flag, and sequel, *Ringed by Fire.* Subject: War of 1870. E. E. GREEN. (Nelson, 5s.)

Valentin. Subject: Sedan. H. KINGSLEY. (Ward Lock, 2s.)

Young Franc-Tireurs. Subject: War of 1870. G. A. HENTY. (Griffith Farran, 3s. 6d.)

Paris at Bay. Subject: Siege of Paris, and The Commune. H. HAYENS. (Blackie, 2s. 6d.)

Woman of the Commune. Subject: Siege of Paris, and The Commune. G. A. HENTY. (White, 3s. 6d.)

A Campaign in Kabylia. Subject: War in Algeria, 1871. ERCKMANN-CHATRIAN. (Ward Locke, 1s.)

Out with Garibaldi. Subject: Italy 1848–60. Story of The Thousand. G. A. HENTY. (Blackie, 5s.)

One of the Redshirts. Subject: Story of The Thousand. H. HAYENS. (Nisbet, 2s. 6d.)

Sons of Freedom. Subject: Siberian Exiles. F. WISHAW. (Nelson, 1s. 6d.)

Terrible Times. Subject: The Indian Mutiny. G. P. RAINES. (Routledge, 2s. 6d.)

Barclay of the Guides. Subject: The Indian Mutiny. HERBERT STRANG. (Frowde, 5s.)

Maori and Settler. Subject: Maori Wars. G. A. HENTY.

PERIOD 1875–1915 (Chapters XX.-XXV.).

In the Track of the Troops. Subject: Russo-Turkish War, 1877–78. R. M. BALLANTYNE. (Nisbet, 2s. 6d.)

The Young Colonists. Subject: Zulu War. G. A. HENTY. (Blackie, 3s. 6d.)

With Roberts to Kandahar. Subject: Afghan War, 1880. Capt. F. S. BRERETON. (Blackie, 5s.)

The Dash for Khartoum. Subject: Relief of Gordon. G. A. HENTY. (Blackie, 6s.)

Dick Dale. Subject: Boer War of 1899. TOM BEVAN. (Partridge, 2s.)

With Brigand and Turk. Subject: The Balkan War. TOM BEVAN. (Partridge, 2s.)

THE WAR: 1914–1918.

Under Foch's Command. Subject: The Americans in France. Capt. F. S. BRERETON. (Blackie, 4s. 6d.)

A Little Ship. Subject: Small Naval Craft in the War. "TAFFRAIL." (Chambers, 6s. *net.*)

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